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Reflections on the summit: Kohl and Reagan tally up the score

DIE ZEIT

Chancellor Kohl's visit to Washington caused almost unparallelled interest; even the American media, which doesn't go overboard with advance coverage for this sort of event, showed a lot more interest than usual.

The reason is that Chancellor Kohl was the first allied head of government to meet President Reagan since the Reykjavik summit.

The debate about whether and how much President Reagan's conduct of the talks had shaken the foundations of Nato doctrine is still raging. So Kohl's visit was timely.

Germany is America's most important ally. It is certainly its most reliable. Therefore, its support was important.

In addition, it was known that Herr Kohl had the support of Mrs Thatcher and, with many reservations, that of M. Mitterrand.

It was known, however, that he would offer some criticism about the summit.

Yet in an after-dinner speech he told Secretary of State Shultz Reykjavik had been "necessary and good" — after Mr Shultz had stressed the Chancellor's leading role in carrying out Nato's missiles-and-talks policy as a sine qua non for Soviet readiness to negotiate.

The news that 55 Soviet diplomats had been expelled as the latest manpower move in the diplomatic dispute between the superpowers seemed no more to cast a shadow over German-American harmony than it shook confidence in tangible disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union.

One of the Chancellor's foremost aims was to advise the President to be patient and, in close consultation with America's allies, to carefully review what was on the table after Reykjavik.

There must be no haste on ballistic missile reduction, the German delegation, which included Foreign Minister Genscher, Defence Minister Wörner and the Chancellor's adviser, Herr Teltschik, were told.

The aim must always be to make headway in parallel between strategic and conventional disarmament.

German interest dwelt on the medium-range missile agreement terms drafted in the Icelandic capital.

The chief US negotiator in Geneva, Max Kampelman, feels agreement could be reached in six months even in the current state of uncertainty whether the Soviet Union will be prepared to agree to an agreement unless an SDI compromise is struck.

Bonn is not satisfied with the provision envisaged by US and Soviet negotiators in Reykjavik for shorter-range Soviet missiles, especially missiles deployed in response to Nato missile modernisation, first to be frozen at their present level.

Negotiations must, the German argument runs, aim at missile reduction in this category, as in others. The potential threat is simply too great to brook any alternative.

Clarification has similarly failed to be reached in German-American consultations on the framework within which conventional disarmament measures are to be negotiated.

Bonn and Washington are, however, agreed in principle that nuclear disarmament must be accompanied by a balance struck in the conventional sector. Yet who is to take part in talks if, for instance, conventional disarmament is to be negotiated not just for Central Europe but for Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals? Ought the Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe to be replaced, and if so, what by? The US government is reported to favour an entirely new framework for negotiations. Bonn in contrast tends to feel the tried and trusted CSCE, or Helsinki, framework should be used, progressing from the results of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and security in Europe.



Lots to talk about. Chancellor Kohl (left) and President Reagan in Washington. (Photo: AP)

President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl did not deal in their talks with disputed details, such as interpretation of the ABM treaty. Herr Kohl reaffirmed his approval of SDI, much to the President's satisfaction, although he did so less emphatically than Mr Reagan.

Above all, the Chancellor repeatedly stressed that SDI must abide by the terms of the ABM treaty.

Ulrich Schiller

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 24 October 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

Clear that idea of SDI is here to stay

Did Chancellor Kohl really meet with President Reagan at the right moment, as both sides assured each other in Washington? It still is hard to say.

It is seldom too soon to try and exert influence on a friend and partner. But it is best first to know what you want.

Herr Kohl and his party at the White House seemed torn between the urge to disarm and the desire for continued security offered by the nuclear deterrent.

That, perhaps, is hardly surprising. Given the high-flying visions of a world without nuclear weapons conjured by the world's two mightiest men, a mere fortnight after the hastily-convened Reykavik summit no-one in Washington knew exactly what the next step in arms control would be.

The superpowers' Geneva delegations had not even had time to retie the threads where their leaders had last severed them.

Yet Chancellor Kohl cannot be accused of getting his timing wrong. The deadline for his Washington visit was arranged earlier and planned to help prepare Bonn's main ally to gear a winter summit to firm commitments.

The Reykjavik mini-summit venture just happened to intervene.

The Chancellor may not have gleaned full and in any way final certainty about the consequences of Reykjavik, but he returned from Washington clear in his mind's eye on at least one point.

It was that President Reagan is as firmly resolved not to abandon his dream of scrapping all nuclear weapons as he is determined not to abandon SDI.

As he sees it, a combination of the two is an ideal security package, eliminating the constant nuclear threat.

Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov are on common ground for a fair distance on this point, which is something entirely new in superpower thinking.

America's European allies still seem a little out of their depth and create an impression of feeling somehow bamboozled.

Fear of being left, without the US nuclear shield, to the tender mercies of a hopelessly superior East Bloc leads to potential misunderstanding and might make it appear as though Bonn would prefer anything other than full nuclear disarmament.

Yet medium-range missiles are not at issue. They are merely an addition to the two sides' arms stockpiles and could indeed be scrapped despite the uneasy feelings that beset many professional strategists.

What really worries the Europeans is the nightmare of one day — in the none too distant future — being deprived of US protection in two respects.

The twofold prospect that so upsets them is that of the withdrawal of both the American nuclear shield and US troops from Europe.

Chancellor Kohl was bound to voice these fears in the White House, but he, Foreign Minister Genscher and Defence Minister Wörner would have done better, especially for domestic consumption, to avoid creating the initial impression that nuclear disarmament was a particularly tricky and controversial issue among the Bonn coalition parties.

The Chancellor and his deputy, Herr Genscher, might now find themselves in the embarrassing position of having to reinforce the credibility of their commitment to peace — and that in a general election campaign.

They are committed, as coalition policy, to keeping the peace with fewer weapons, but may arguably have laid themselves open to accusations of paying mere lip service to this ideal.

The impression that Bonn insists on a conventional arms build-up in return for total abolition of long-range ballistic missiles must not be allowed to gain currency.

If a balance is to maintained in Europe; then a reduction in troop strengths and conventional armaments must also be negotiated. Here, Germany has clout.

The large, modern Bundeswehr, Bonn's bargaining counter, cannot dismissed by the East as a truckle tin soldiers.

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Colog

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Economic issues dominate as Euro, Asean teams meet

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

The sixth conference of Asean and European Community Foreign Ministers ended in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, with several major moves to boost economic cooperation.

They included the resolve to continue in Gatt talks their cooperation in helping to bring about the latest Gatt round and the determination of both sides to make it easier for European firms to invest in Asean countries.

Both points form part of the joint communiqué the contents of which indicate that the Foreign Ministers will from now on be dealing mainly with economic issues.

Economic progress has emerged more than ever as the linchpin of political stability, as President Suharto of Indonesia reminded the 17 delegations (Portugal was not represented) in the Indonesian capital.

Continued economic recession in the six Asean countries would, he said, jeopardise political stability, leading to conflict and inviting outside intervention.

Lutz Stavenhagen of the German Foreign Office, representing Foreign Minister Genscher, sounded a similar note.

The traditional conflict between East and West was bound, he said, to shift. Europe must anticipate the trend and pay more attention to the political interests of Asean as a region that was sure to make further gains in economic importance.

It was Herr Stavenhagen's first visit to South-East Asia. He was most impressed by the course of the conference, which he felt was a genuine dialogue, fostering mutual understanding.

Yet his brief was to state the European Community's case on a trio of controversial topics:

- the Common Agricultural Policy, given Asean wishes for better access to European agricultural markets, particularly for rice and soya products;
- the extension of preferences for industrial exports; and
- the European viewpoint on the new Gatt round.

He made it clear to Asean delegates that the European Community stood by its agricultural policy aims but was keen make detailed changes to prevent surplus production.

No agreement was reached on this issue. The only agreement was to keep up close Gatt cooperation.

Asean met the European Community half-way on including the service sector in Gatt provisions and expects European support on agricultural exports.

Investment was, however, the crux of the two-day meeting of Foreign Ministers.

Delegates were presented with a detailed report explaining, on over 100 pages, why European firms invested less in Asean countries than their Japanese or American counterparts.

Detailed figures were not available, the report noted, but Japan was said to account for 32 per cent of foreign investment in the Asean countries, the United States for 16 and the European Community for 13 per cent.

The report may have revealed nothing that had not long been public knowledge, but it is the first and so far only document of its kind and a working basis for joint bids to end obstacles to investment and persuade more European firms to invest in the six Asean countries.

Asea, founded in 1967, consists of *Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia,* Thailand and the Philippines.

In 1980 Asean and the European Community signed a cooperation agreement aimed primarily at promoting economic cooperation.

Asean delegates saw as a major step in the right direction the Jakarta conference's wholehearted endorsement of the report and advice to member-governments to study the many recommendations and act on them wherever possible.

All Asean governments have for the past year been engaged in attempts to improve investment conditions in their respective countries.

Progress so far has, the report suggests, been inadquate. It recommends:

- simplifying and clearly formulating investment legislation;
- eliminating civil service leeway on its interpretation;
- harmonising investment legislation within Asean;
- introducing reliable patent rights;
- drawing up industrial standards, on which a European Community report has been submitted;
- improving information on investment opportunities (the European Community plans to set up a data bank next year) and
- ending trade barriers within Asean, as begun with the 1978 preferential treatment agreement (PTA).

This agreement now applies to 18,000 products, yet between them they account for a mere two per cent of intra-Asean trade. Preferences range between 25 and 50 per cent.

At the last Asean-only Ministerial conference, held in Manila at the end of August, all Asean countries except Indonesia endorsed a strategy aimed at making Asean a customs union by the year 2000.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 22 October 1986)

Uncertainty after Machel's death

President Machel of Mozambique was killed in an air crash at a trying time. Relations between white-ruled South Africa and neighbouring communist revolutionary Mozambique may have been tense but at least they existed.

Will Samora Machel's heirs be willing and able to continue the course he set?

Mozambique is one of the front-line states at loggerheads with apartheid and South Africa but still on talking terms with Pretoria because it is dependent economically on the unloved white regime.

There has naturally been wild speculation about the fact that the plane crashed while flying over South African territory.

Mozambique has been at odds with South Africa for some time but never broke with Pretoria entirely.

Samora Machel, who ruled Mozambique from 1975, was undoubtedly a factor for stability in southern Africa. Pretoria knew where it stood with the former rebel against Portuguese rule.

He and South Africa came to terms strictly on grounds of expediency. They had no political love for each other at all.

Yet the existence of any ties whatever between Maputo and Pretoria must have upset Moscow, where President Machel was not always a welcome visitor.

Be that as it may, his death heralds a stage of uncertainty. *Günter Baumann*

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 21 October 1986)

London terrorist trial exposes the Syrian link

The trial in London of Nezar Hindawi, a Jordanian citizen jailed for 45 years on charges of trying to blow up an El Al airliner last April, proved beyond doubt Syria's key role in the international terrorist network operating from the Middle East.

That in itself comes as no surprise. President Assad of Syria is smarter than Colonel Gaddafi of Libya, who boasts in public of supporting terrorists.

But everyone well briefed on the Middle East knows various terrorist groups are based in Syrian-occupied Lebanon and Damascus.

The London court proceedings showed Hindawi to have enjoyed direct Syrian diplomatic backing in planning to blow up an Israeli airliner with 375 passengers, including his pregnant Irish girlfriend, on board.

A further link extends from London to Berlin, where Hindawi's brother is in custody in connection with a discotheque bomb raid.

Western countries have so far exercised restraint in their dealings with Syria despite strong pointers toward Syrian complicity in terrorist activities.

There were many grounds for this restraint. The Americans, *for instance*, well know that a *Middle East* peace settlement is impossible without the Syrian leader's consent.

President Assad astutely offered his services in helping to secure the release of US and French hostages in Lebanon.

But Washington for one has now lost patience. America's break-off of diplomatic ties with Syria shows the United States to be approaching a line corresponding to US views on Colonel Gaddafi in recent months.

At the same time the United States has demonstrated its special relationship with Britain by following Whitehall's lead in ending diplomatic ties with Damascus.

That leaves Europe. As so often in the past, European reactions first show signs of caution. Bonn has cancelled a visit by the Syrian Foreign Minister. France is not yet prepared to make sweeping moves.

It remains to be seen whether the British Foreign Secretary, *Sir Geoffrey Howe*, can convince his Common Market colleagues that, as in Libya's case, states that toy with terrorism must be boycotted.

It may be a difficult decision to take politically, but in moral terms it is the only possible move if the West is to retain its self-respect.

A hard line is, moreover, probably the only approach that will impress the terrorists and their political backers.

For President Assad the decline in his international reputation as a result of the London trial is definitely a defeat.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 October 1986)

Why Russia let Honecker go to China

Decades ago, almost forgotten in the annals of history, East German leader Walter Ulbricht was concerned about the Sino-Soviet conflict.

But he carefully avoided taking sides, saying he was not sufficiently aware of conditions in China to pass judgment. East Berlin preferred to be an innocent bystander.

East Germany long sought to steer at least its diplomatic ties with China clear of ideological disputes between Moscow and Peking.

As the ice gathered on Sino-Soviet ties, East Berlin, finally had to toe the Soviet line. Only a few years ago Chinese diplomats in East Berlin were almost treated like citizens of an enemy state and largely isolated.

But since the Soviet Union has itself sought to improve its relations with China East Germany, along with other East Bloc states, has promptly used the pretext for a thaw in its ties with Peking.

Cultural and economic contacts have been resumed. The Chinese in particular have made constant, if initially cautious, use of opportunities as they grew available.

Yet the mere announcement of East German leader Erich Honecker's visit to China came as a surprise; so did the last-minute prior visit to Peking paid by General Jaruzelski of Poland.

Herr Honecker has certainly stopped well ahead of the slow process of improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. He cannot claim, as Herr Ulbricht did, not to know enough about Chinese affairs to be a judge of the situation.

For the Chinese his visit was a blessing, demonstrating that Peking has no disputes with Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe but merely with the Soviet Union itself.

Herr Honecker was welcomed to Peking with the statement that China pursued an independent foreign policy and held the East German leader in high esteem for his personal contribution toward peace and detente.

What can prompt Moscow to allow a man like Herr Honecker or, for that matter, the Polish leader (who, incidentally, is held in higher regard by Mr Gorbachov) to accept such words of praise?

Can it be that the Soviet leader needs the assistance of East Bloc leaders in putting ties with China to rights as he would like to see them?

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 October 1986)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Ex-soldier and CDU face an uphill battle in Hamburg

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Christian Democrat challenge in this month's Hamburg election is being led by a former Bundeswehr army officer, Hartmut Perschau.

He says the ruling Social Democrats, who have an absolute majority in the city-state's assembly, are bogged down in corruption and nepotism after 30 years of rule.

He says misguided policies are spoiling its chances of a better future — better, he says, than the current picture of mass unemployment, huge debt, a crime wave and heavy taxation.

Perschau, who heads the CDU group in the assembly, is challenging not only the SPD, but also the Mayor, Klaus von Dohnanyi, a man with a popular personality and a fine reputation which goes beyond the confines of his own party.

Perschau himself has closed the gap a little, but the polls do not have good news for him: they say that if the CDU picks up



Mayor von Dohnanyi ... personal appeal. (Photos: Sven Simon)

more than 40 per cent of the vote, it will have done well. In the election in December 1982, the SPD got 51.3 per cent of the vote, which left it with 64 assembly seats; the CDU got 38.8 per cent (48 seats); and the Green/Alternative List 6.8 per cent (8 seats). The Free Democrats got only 2.6 per cent, below the 5 per cent needed to qualify for representation.

Perschau's problem is that most Hamburg people are simply not impressed enough by pessimistic descriptions of their plight such as his, at least not enough to vote the other way.

In spring this year all opinion polls showed the SPD well above 50 per cent; the party seemed certain to retain the absolute majority it achieved in the last election in December 1982.

The popularity of the SPD, however, then declined rapidly during the summer.

The conditions criticised in Perschau's invective were not to blame for this setback, but the problems Hamburg's Senate had in dealing with demonstrations.

The encirclement by the police of hundreds of peaceful demonstrators in one case, for example, was regarded as a clear overreaction of the authorities by many people (including SPD supporters) in Hamburg.

This faux pas was followed by the embarrassing shoot-out by the professional underworld killer, Werner Pinzner, in Hamburg's police headquarters.

The popularity of the SPD following these incidents fell way down into the forty per cent region.

After the dismissal of two SPD senators in the wake of these events, the SPD began looking around for a possible junior coalition partner.

The most likely candidate seemed to be the FDP, a party which has not been represented in the city's parliament during the last eight years because of its inability to get the five per cent of the votes needed to gain seats there.

The party's chairman is Ingo von Münch, a lively professor of jurisprudence.

Up to now, the FDP has not committed itself on the coalition question, a fact which in itself caused quite a stir.

For a long time it looked as if the FDP would benefit most from the SPD's summertime blues.

In the meantime, however, the situation has again changed.

Opinion polls show that the popularity of the SPD is rising, that the CDU can still expect no more than 40 per cent of the vote, that the FDP will probably remain a three-per-cent party, and the Green/Alternative List will probably secure about eight per cent of the vote.

The Green/Alternative List will be contesting the election with women candidates only.

It is often difficult to understand the mood of the electorate.

Not all the arguments brought to bear by CDU challenger Hartmut Perschau are exaggeratedly pessimistic.

The Hamburg Senate looks back on four tough years in office. The SPD's absolute majority hasn't necessarily made the city any easier to govern.

The party often seemed torn between two opposing factions within the parliamentary group, and this in-fighting may cost it votes.

The city has and will in future have to cope with very difficult problems.

The city is still one of the wealthiest and most scenic regions in Europe.

However, almost one hundred thousand unemployed (often young) people also live there.

What is more, Hamburg is heavily indebted.

As Mayor Dohnanyi explained to Hamburg businessmen in a speech at the city's Overseas Club Hamburg is suffering from the political decisions made in the past.

The city, the Mayor emphasised, must gradually turn its attention towards the European mainland and away from the ports and water-ways which once guaranteed Hamburg's prosperity.

During the last four years more and more shipyards have been forced to shut down and the port of Hamburg has found it increasingly difficult to maintain its reputation in Europe despite the fact that, once again, an internationally operating shipping company has applied to set up business in Hamburg.

Other political "legacies" also weigh heavily upon the city.

At the beginning of the current legislative period the huge mountain of waste in the district of Georgswerder hit the headlines. Investigations discovered that the highly toxic substance dioxin was seeping out of the waste disposal site.

In addition, the Boehringer chemicals company was forced to close down after evidence that it had polluted the environment with vast amounts of cadmium and arsenic.

The sludge in the port area of Hamburg also threatens to get out of hand.

Hamburg, which tries to promote the image of a clean and tidy city, is gradually gaining the reputation of being a facade built on waste.

Better public relations alone, however, cannot help.

Apart from the proven environmental pollution several investigation committees took a very critical look at the errors made by Hamburg authorities.

In numerous cases the authorities were accused of having made very serious mistakes, for example, in the case of the waste disposal site in Georgswerder.

There was also strong criticism of the behaviour of officials and politicians in their dealings with the Neue Heimat property group.

In many cases contracts were classed as being of "public benefit" even though it was all too obvious that the company only had its own interests in mind.

One of the make-or-break issues when assessing the performance of the Senate during the past four years was bound to be its ability to come to grips with economic problems.

This is where Hartmut Perschau, backed by many CDU ministers in Bonn and, in particular, by Bonn Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, has vehemently criticised Dohnanyi.

However, it looks as if even this campaign will be to no avail.

Mayor von Dohnanyi is often praised by Hamburg businessmen, who feel that *he is on the road to success.*"

The Technical University in Harburg, for example, is already being described as a success, an institution which it is hoped will give the region a new high-tech thrust.

The Mayor's almost unreserved support for the new media has also ensured



FDP local challenger von Münch ... unconventional style. (Photo: dpa)

the support of the business community in the city. Hamburg can now rightly claim to still be a media metropolis.

Dohnanyi's pro-business stance, however, has also led to criticism of his policies by the SPD itself.

Many critics cannot discern a connection between Dohnanyi's economic policies and a reduction of the above-average (in comparison with other Länder) above-average unemployment figure.

Von Dohnanyi is not disconcerted. He deserves credit for bringing the city's business community and the Social Democratic Senate closer together.

This is a traditional bond. Although



CDU challenger Perschau ... but can he turn the voters?

the businessmen are not all that fond of the SPD they don't mind them being in office as long as business flourishes.

The left-wingers in the Hamburg SPD find it difficult to develop vote-winning alternatives despite unemployment and the austerity measures in public-service and social fields.

In this situation the CDU Opposition finds it extremely difficult to improve its position.

Admittedly, in the election in summer 1982 (which was rerun in December of that year) the CDU led by Walther Leisler Kiep even managed to become the strongest single party.

This, however, turned out to be no more than a passing phase for the rather middle-class oriented party.

Many people asked themselves after the election whether Kiep was well-advised to try and gain the support of the "man on the street" (in contrast to Dohnanyi's rather upper-class image), for example, of the Neue Heimat tenants, only to choose the banker Eckart van Hooven as his candidate for the post of Economics Senator later on in the campaign.

In the political centre the SPD, CDU and FDP are all vying for the same votes.

In terms of personality, Dohnanyi has the best chances, enjoying a reputation which extends far beyond his own party.

Perschau has closed the gap a little, but he is unlikely to be able to seriously challenge von Dohnanyi.

FDP chairman Ingo von Münch is a generally popular candidate and his unconventional style may attract votes.

The Green/Alternative List with its tried and tested candidate Thea Bock in second position on the list of — women only — candidates can count on their regular voters.

The decision by the Hamburg Senate for a phaseout of nuclear energy as soon as possible is unlikely to make many Green voters change their mind and vote for the SPD.

Opponents of nuclear power plants still feel that the SPD will not keep its word on this issue.

The police action against demonstrators in Hamburg on the day after the big demonstration at the Brokdorf nuclear power plant also created a rift between the Senate and anti-nuclear-energy protesters.

The announcement by the Senate of legal action against the decision to put the Brokdorf plant on-stream was soon followed by an abashed decision by the Senate not to institute legal proceedings due to a lack of legal means, a decision which hasn't exactly improved the relationship between the two sides.

The vital question will be how receptive the voters are to new arguments.

The state elections in Bavaria showed that the SPD is apparently still seeking a nationwide identity. Hamburg SPD is

Continued on page 6

■ TERRORISM

Hunt and arrest, not more protection, is the tactic

Effective security against terrorists can only be ensured by finding and arresting the terrorists and not by stepping up the number of bodyguards.

This is the widespread conclusion in the wake of the murder this month in Bonn of Foreign Office official Gerold von Braunmühl by Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorists.

It is now realised that bodyguards are not the answer. The terrorists have shown that if they can't get at the top tier of politicians and industrialists, they will go for the next tier down. They will lower their sights until they find an unprotected target.

Bavaria's Interior Minister, Karl Hillermeier, has spoken of a "new dimension of terror".

A special anti-terrorist workgroup has been set up under the auspices of the Minister of State in the Bonn Chancellery, Wolfgang Schäuble.

State secretary in Bonn's Ministry of the Interior, Hans Neusel, hopes to improve collaboration between the various crime investigation authorities.

Following a lengthy break the Conference of Interior Ministers (chairman: Karl Hillermeier) has convened to find new ways of combating terror.

The FDP has suddenly become more cooperative in discussions on planned law changes.

The von Braunmühl killing has shaken the authorities in Bonn much more than the attacks on industrialist Ernst Zimmermann, of MTU, and Karl-Heinz Beckurts, of Siemens.

It had been thought that an attack was unlikely in the capital because of the extensive security precautions.

Any strike against prominent "symbolic figures" in Bonn, it was believed, would be regarded as too risky.

The top-security zone Bonn could, so it was believed, be quickly turned into a fortress, making it virtually impossible for assassins to escape.

This was all wrong: the murder of von Braunmühl has shown that.

This time the victim was not one of the chauffeur-driven and police-escorted "symbolic figures" in an armour-plated limousine, but one of the many publicly "unknown" ministerial aides who don't get police protection.

The murder in Bonn also makes it clear where the limits to safeguarding personal security lie.

If you can't get near first-rank politicians the second rank will do; and once they get their bodyguards too terrorists have no option but to lower their sights.

ther is the answer in even more standby security forces for emergencies: Real security can only be guaranteed if the terrorists are arrested, and this requires a broadly-based anti-terrorist campaign.

Following the killing of a senior civil servant in Bonn more people may now agree that this is the only road to success.

The public awareness of the terrorism problem died down after the two leading members of the RAF, Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar, were arrested.

The fourth RAF generation, therefore, has been able to set up its network without the restrictions of excessive anti-terrorist investigations.

The authorities now recall that most of their successes resulted from public tip-offs to the police.

If Bonn Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann, has his way the media will start doing more to consolidate public awareness of the terrorism problem.

This approach can only be successful if the police authorities are adequately staffed to cope with the anticipated flood of information from the public.

This, however, is problematic, since officials cannot be withdrawn from their "normal crime investigation" activities for too long.

The Conference of Interior Ministers unanimously agreed that computer-assisted dragnet investigations, police observation and the use of contacts still provide a sound basis for investigation activities.

Many *Länder* have stated that they *haven't got enough staff for police observation operations against terrorists.*

The chances of finding sympathisers and via these sympathisers members of the "hard core" of terrorist groups fell.

The flow of information via such contacts first increased following the murder of Ernst Zimmermann.

Via special agents the counter-intelligence service has infiltrated groups which they suspect of sympathising with the RAF.

As these agents are not allowed to become involved in criminal offences their effectiveness (and credibility within the group) suffers.

The police also keeps an eye on several persons suspected of providing RAF sympathisers with hideouts and cars, spying out possible locations of criminal offences and acting as go-betweens for passing on information within the terrorist group.

Even these persons, however, operate like professional secret service agents.

They make their phone calls from public telephone boxes, which cannot be *bugged because this would mean listening in on the phone calls of respectable citizens too.*

Mass demonstrations also provide a good opportunity for an exchange of information between members of terrorist groups, since the police find it difficult to distinguish between masked demonstrators known and those unknown to the police.

There are plans to tighten existing address registration laws.

Although it is compulsory to register with local authorities if a person changes his address many don't bother because it is inconvenient and as there *is no real penalty for not doing so anyway.*

If ordinary citizens can be persuaded to register the police would then have a reliable criterion of suspicion at its disposal, i.e. anyone who hasn't registered is suspect and would then be screened by the police.

The most important new means of tackling terrorism approved by the Interior Ministers is precautionary "protective surveillance", a combination of observation of potential target persons and objects for terrorist attacks and the active tracking down of terrorists.

This concept enables the police to be at the scene of the crime before the criminals themselves.

Every planned scene of a crime thus becomes a trap for the offenders, presuming that is that the police officials happen to be where terrorists or their sympathisers decide to check out localities for a possible terrorist attack.

All these envisaged measures will put terrorists under even more pressure, but will not be able to guarantee that the RAF will be smashed as an organisation.

Crime investigation experts emphasise that the main thing is not to phase these measures out again after a few weeks in which there have been no terrorist activities.

In fact, these peaceful periods are the best time to conduct "lightning" road checks and meticulous controls of certain border regions.

The question is, however, whether the general public would accept the need for such measures.

The Bonn government's intention of allowing terrorists to turn state's evidence on fellow terrorists would be an additional lever in the fight against terrorism.

Terrorists who give themselves up and give evidence which leads to the arrest or conviction of other terrorists, the government plans, should be given reduced prison sentences or even remission.

It is hoped that high rewards for giving such evidence will enable the witnesses in question to lead a new life with a new identity.

Fundamental misgivings already led to the rejection of this suggestion ten years ago.

Horsetrading with criminals would undoubtedly be an admission by the state that terrorism cannot be eliminated via conventional police methods.

Should a murderer be rewarded for "grassing" on other murderers? How are the relatives of murder victims likely to feel about this?

The Italian successes cited by advocates of the introduction of this ruling cannot be simply superimposed on the West German context.

The Red Brigades in Italy were heterogeneous groups as opposed to more tightly organised and smaller RAF.

Those RAF members with something to betray are subjected to the permanent control of the group.

The possibility of being rewarded for betraying fellow terrorists, however, would definitely create a greater sense of uncertainty within terrorist groups.

Horst Zimmermann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 October 1986)

A case against state using 'supergrasses'

The way West German politicians react to terrorist attacks is an almost reflex response.

Tighten the laws and give the police more power, they cry, in line with the motto: the greater the punishment the more effective the fight against crime.

Criminological history, however, does not support the logic of this argument, nor do more recent court cases.

Back in the days when thieves were publicly battered to death on a wheel other thieves took the opportunity to pickpocket distracted onlookers.

The arguments of those who zealously set out to improve our adequately perfected system of criminal law and court proceedings, therefore, should always be countered by a reference to the fact that laws are *general* norms and not designed for specific "crimes of the day", specific incidents or specific target groups.

In view of the revived discussion on whether terrorists should be allowed to turn state's evidence it should also be emphasised that laws and legal concepts are not characterless set pieces which can be simply transferred from one legal system to the next.

The concept of turning state's (or in a legal context in which there is a sovereign monarch, Queen's or King's) evidence is historically rooted in English criminal proceedings.

It refers to a situation in which evidence is given for the state (Crown) against his former associates in crime by an accomplice (a practice known as "grassing". A supergrass is a big-time grass).

This "deal" between the state and the criminal provides exact information on how the crime in question was planned and carried out.

On the other hand, there is also a risk that the person giving evidence may shift his own share of the responsiblity for the crime onto his accomplices and that the latter are thus sentenced on the basis of false testimony.

The person turning state's evidence may even invent a crime or involvement in a crime, out of revenge or to try and ensure a more lenient sentence.

In return for his "willingness to cooperate with the state" the witness is often rewarded with a reduced prison sentence, an early release from prison or a complete remission of the prison sentence.

This concept is unknown to German criminal law and law of criminal procedure.

A criminal who confesses a crime can only hope for a reduction of his sentence if he shows his repentance in an active way (*tätige Reue*).

This very cautious provision, however, has often been extended to mean more or less turning state's evidence.

In the trial of the Baader-Meinhof gang accomplice Horst Mahler in 1972, for example, evidence was given against Mahler by Karl-Heinz Ruhland, who was also an accomplice of the terrorists.

Ruhland should have been *sitting* in the dock with Mahler, but his case was dealt with at an earlier stage.

This meant that he could act as a witness, on the state's behalf, in the *Mahler* case.

Ruhland's fellow inmates all *claimed* that Ruhland had unjustly accused Mahler of being involved in a bank *robbery*, an accusation which led to a *stiff prison* sentence for Mahler.

Ruhland himself admitted later on that the police interrogators were *really* "lusting for accusations against Mahler".

Ruhland later led a miserable life in fear and anonymity.

During the Baader-Meinhof trial in Stammheim Dierk Hoff, who was known to have designed bombs for the Baader-Meinhof gang, also turned state's evidence.

The reward, it was later claimed, was a new identity and financial support to make a new life abroad.

Hoff was given the opportunity to memorise his earlier interrogation methods so well that he was even able to indicate where the paragraphs ended by making a pause when he gave testimony during the main hearing.

Ulrike Meinhof was so irritated that she asked Hoff why he was giving evidence in such parrot-fashion. Officials

Continued on page 7

■ PERSPECTIVE

Brilliance, banality and sub-standard scholarship at historians' meeting

Süddeutsche Zeitung

None of the 1,500-odd participants at the 36th historical congress in Trier could hope to arrive at an even remotely balanced judgement on the mammoth proceedings.

Individuals could only take in a handful of the 130 lectures given during the three and a half days allowed by the two professional bodies that organised the conference.

Specialists in pursuit of proceedings on their special subjects tended to disappear in smaller, artificially-lit lecture theatres and soon felt overtired.

The writer felt, as he has done for a decade, that some of the lectures, arranged by subject matter in 27 sections and in some cases already available as papers, failed to measure up to more exacting academic standards.

They were ill-suited as refresher fare for history teachers and still less as a public presentation of historians and their work.

The exceptions included a morning session chaired by Andreas Hillgruber and dealing with the importance of the Far East for the main belligerents in the Second World War.

The speakers — Junker, Voigt, Dülffer and Martin — were brilliant, didn't speak for too long and allowed time for discussion. It was excellent.

Another observation, and a generally gratifying one, was that the scope of detailed research, no matter how insignificant and pettifogging it might at times tend to become, is growing ever wider in both space and time.

It was a far cry from the parish pump, with topics including The Dynamics of Social and Political Trends in Africa between 1939 and 1955, Latin America between 1830 and 1920, Nato and the United States, Areas Settled in Ancient Greece, Alliances and Foreign Policy in the Late Middle Ages and Luxembourg in the Second World War.

At the next historical congress, to be held in Bamberg in two years' time, non-European history will even be the overall topic.

The banality of the overall topic at Trier was one reason why this year's congress seemed less productive than its predecessors. It was The Importance of Geography for the Course of History.

The organisers having decided to stress the importance of geography by giving it an additional official boost, as it were, Christian Meier of the German Historians' Association made the point most effectively in his opening address.

A biographer of Julius Caesar and president of the association, he told the congress that:

"The history, politics and social structure of England are inconceivable without its insular situation.

"Repeated efforts have been undertaken on the Continent to arrive at natural, easily defendable frontiers.

"What a different course German history might have taken if the Alps had run roughly parallel to the Vistula."

Meier, being an intelligent man, covered geography from the Ancient World to the present, in which terrestrial space has been relativised by military encroachment on outer space.

Yet the issue was not without its problematic note. Why else should it have been chosen as an overall topic?

Meier mentioned the misuse of geopolitics by the Nazi government in the Third Reich.

Reference was accordingly made, at intervals during the congress, to Karl Haushofer, for whom geopolitics was less an academic discipline than a code of conduct for aggressive, expansionist policies of gaining access to space and raw materials.

Yet those who had never heard of Haushofer left Trier not sufficiently the wiser as to who he was and what he represented.

Meier and many others in Trier were less interested in the theory of space and time, about which Reinhart Koselleck dealt boringly and at length, or in geopolitics as such.

What interested them was debate on the argument, resurrected by Michael Stürmer and Hagen Schulze, that Germany's Destiny is its Geography.

Meier noted the controversy that had arisen in this connection with regard to interpretation of Bismarck's policies. It must all, he said, form part of the platform debate.

If only it had! Sparks might have flown. The congress might at least for one evening have been what it has long failed to be: a soundly based, polemically spiced dispute between historians best qualified to deal with the given subject.

German geography as a topic must at least go back to the first Thirty Years' War, 1618-48, then lead via Bismarck's policy of balance (whatever view may be held of it) to the second Thirty Years' War, 1914-1945.

It might arguably end with present-day divided Germany and the end of a **"special situation" in Central Europe.**

But Trier failed to come to grips with the subject.

Which brings us to a sore point. When Christian Meier listed the names of distinguished historians who had died since the last congress, many in the audience will have been shocked.

Conze, Lutz, Schieder, Scholder and many other leading historians seemed to have died, and a striking number of survivors were conspicuous by their absence.

It would be unfair to name names when one doesn't know their reasons. But too many were absent.

The congress has always been a gathering at which promising young historians have been able to impress not just publishers' readers and journalists but also leading, established history dons, who are often more important in their academic careers.

So rather than naming absent historians, let us name exemplary historians who were there.

Eberhard Jäcke, for instance, was often to be seen in the audience. He took part in debates and chaired a presentation of young historians.

Knud Borchardt was another leading historian who took an active part in the proceedings.

Years ago, when historians were keen to regain standing and loudly lamented how they were neglected by arts policymakers, especially in SPD-run *Länder*, leading historians attended congresses, adding highlights to the more pedestrian, detailed work of less talented or less experienced historians in the various working parties.

In Trier Christian Meier was largely left in the lurch. As president of the Historians' Association he really is not to be envied.

Peter Diehl-Thiele

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 October 1986)

Continued from page 3

hoping the party's poor showing in Bavaria and the fact that the general election campaign will take place just a few weeks later will mobilise its voters.

The SPD's election posters present von Dohnanyi with an air of superiority and confidence.

The CDU poster shows Perschau with the Hamburg flag and the city hall in the background.

The jovial FDP professor Ingo von Münch looks, strange as it may seem, as if he has plenty to laugh about.

Dohnanyi is reputed not to have agreed to the poster's slogan "Dohnanyi for Hamburg, Hamburg for Dohnanyi".

In all proabability, however, he would agree with the prediction that he will remain Mayor of Hamburg after the election on 9 November.

Karsten Plog

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 October 1986)

Dissident appeal marks start of long lesson

Dissidents from four East Bloc countries have issued a joint statement to mark the 30th anniversary of the uprising in Hungary in 1956. The statement, signed by 122 dissidents from Hungary, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, refers to "determination to struggle for political democracy" and to "oppression by Soviet intervention"; and it says the "Hungarian revolution remains our inspiration." It is the first time dissidents from several East Bloc nations have managed to overcome all the impediments imposed by their state apparatus to join forces in such a way.

Thirty years ago a lengthy lesson began: it was that a third way between socialism and capitalism is impossible as long as the military might of the Eastern superpower is in a position to enforce the Soviet policy line.

It has also taught us there are limits to reform of the political and economic system that claims to represent the sole road to socialism.

The point has been brought home by the 122 dissidents from East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary who have issued a statement.

Hungary is the keyword. Thirty years ago, on 23 October 1956, the popular uprising against communist rule began.

The Soviet satraps Matyas Rakosi and Ernö Gerö were forced to resign and a reform communist, Imre Nagy, took over as Prime Minister and started to transform Hungarian society.

The Red Army intervened, withdrew and returned to crush the uprising. It did so because of two moves by the Nagy government, which legalised non-communist parties and announced its intention of resigning from the Warsaw Pact and going neutral. It was a revolution. The intelligentsia's desire for independence played as much a part in it as the class-consciousness of the workers — and not just in Budapest.

The Catholic Church sought greater influence and farmers voted with their feet against enforced collectivisation (although a few favoured democratically-run cooperatives).

The revolution destroyed the political superstructure of the Stalinist system three and a half years after the Soviet dictator's death and eight months after another Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, had settled scores with Stalin behind closed doors at the Soviet party congress.

For the first time since the Stalinist purges in the early 1930s communist parties faced a surprise resurgence of national communism.

It shook the political foundations of the entire system, a system that to this day proclaims the Soviet path, as pursued since October 1917, to be the sole road to socialism.

It has certainly been the sole road where the Red Army has held sway by its very presence, tolerated by the US Army in keeping with the de facto partitioning of Europe into spheres of influence at Yalta in April 1945.

The first lesson to be learnt is that fundamental reform beyond what Soviet society is prepared to accept is not permitted under real socialism. It is a lesson learnt by the East Germans in 1953 and the Czechs in 1968. Yet the post-1956 Hungarian leaders, especially Janos Kadar, were not just particularly hard-nosed satraps. Mr Kadar's reconciliation policy ("Those who aren't against us are for us") has made skilful use of Hungarian national feeling.

In 30 years a strange new mixture of market economy, economic planning and decentralised factory management has worked wonders — a minor economic miracle.

This, the second lesson, relativises the first. It is that reforms which don't break the bounds of the entire system are permitted as long as they work and still fit the definition of socialism upheld in Moscow.

Sole control must be retained by the vanguard of the Communist Party. The political superstructure, including loyalty to the Warsaw Pact, must be maintained. And centralism must outweigh democracy in the system's domestic structure.

The last and final lesson is that a major reform such as independent communists felt possible in the GDR in 1953, in Poland in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 cannot be imposed in people's democracies unless it is already under way in the Soviet Union.

Yet the Soviet Union is the homeland of the least flexible feature of the socialist system, Party officialdom.

Reformers in Moscow, maybe including Mr Gorbachov, have no intention of experimenting what whatever changes they may favour somewhere in the socialist provinces.

De facto power is the arbiter of everything else.

Karl Grobe

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 October 1986)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Computer technology here despite the suspicions



Germany's largest trade union, IG Metall, is updating its administration by introducing computer technology.

Officials, many of them suspicious, had a foretaste of things to come when they met in Hamburg for the annual conference.

A display circuit had been installed in the conference centre and head office officials put the monitor screens through their paces. The specific aim was to allay these widely held suspicions.

By 1992 the union's nine regions and 159 main branches, representing over 2.5 million members, are to be linked by a high-powered, up-to-the-minute, flexible computer network.

Newly-elected general secretary Franz Steinkühler is convinced the new technology will not just make union offices look more like modern, progressively-managed private firms but that it will also make union work more efficient in political terms.

Computerisation may not have been a main item on the conference agenda but it showed the 536 delegates and the world at large how union work is likely to change in the years ahead.

It was pointed out that computerisation would, just to take one example, make it easier to find out who hadn' paid their dues. Collection would, therefore, be easier.

Steinkühler, 49, may say there isn't going to be a "new" IG Metall, but there can be no mistaking the signs of change, and they aren't just administrative.

He himself has taken over from Hans Mayr, 64, as general secretary, and he stands for a change of guard, from one generation to the next, among over 150,000 paid and part-time union officials.

Old union officials who helped to rebuild the economy and society in the post-war years are stepping down.

Herr Steinkühler was not just paying them verbal tribute when he told the conference it would be some time before the new men made good the loss of their elders' experience.

Will the new generation of union leaders (themselves no longer young, of course) be more militant than their predecessors? Or will they be more pragmatic, more ideological or more technocratic in outlook?

Herr Steinkühler is typically portrayed by the media as either a militant or a technocrat, an ideologist or a pragmatist, whichever happens to suit the need of the moment.

He and his colleagues at the helm of other unions will be judged less by such yardsticks than by their ability to adopt new ideas and new approaches to face up to the challenges of ever-swifter changes in the working world.

It is growing increasingly difficult to look after the interests of all members of a single, industrial union without fear or favour, assuming the industrial union concept to amount to more than mere cooperation between different political tendencies.

Hans Janssen, re-elected as executive member in charge of wage negotiation policy, may complain that flexibilisation has come to be seen as a magic spell employers and conservative politicians see as their white hope for the future.

But that is only half the truth. Fundamental conflicts of interest may not have vanished into thin air, but technological and economic trends have brought about changes in accepted and established patterns.

These changes make it essential for the trade unions both to espouse the cause of all working people and to deal in ever greater detail with the disparate needs of individual groups.

There is a growing discrepancy between flourishing industries such as cars and computers and crisis-torn shipyards or the steel industry.

The unions face a pincer movement, with employers calling on them to show consideration for hard-hit industries while employees in flourishing factories increasingly clamour for a larger slice of the cake than the average annual increase in wage rates and conditions negotiated for the industry as a whole.

Economic necessity, and not pure ideology, compels large companies in particular to pursue flexibility with a view to making maximum use of machinery and equipment regardless of the working day.

Even at automobile plants there are no unmanned production lines yet, but new assembly lines are so expensive that wage costs amount to little more than 10 per cent of overall investment.

Technological progress is increasingly driving a wedge not just between industries but between workers in individual factories.

There are highly skilled full-time staff with safe jobs and regular incomes and peripheral, auxiliary staff: temporary workers to be hired and fired as the occasion requires.

Flexi-time working hours are one example of the problems that arise. IG Metall prides itself on having largely prevented the negotiation of individual flexi-time agreements in return for the 38.5-hour week.

But many sceptics feel the union objective of scrapping the 1984 compromise next year and negotiating the seven-hour day, 35-hour week as originally envisaged is unattainable.

Franz Steinkühler is still opposed to flexi-time arrangements tending to keep the worker waiting at home on stand-by, yet on the eve of the Hamburg conference he mooted flexi-time proposals of his own, much to the chagrin of some union officials.

Further progress toward a 35-hour week is unlikely unless the union agrees to some compromise on fixed working hours.

Regardless how willing Herr Steinkühler may be to consider a compromise, militants are by no means alone in feeling fresh industrial action is not ruled out next time round.

It would be the first industrial dispute governed by the new Paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act.

Workers laid off as an indirect result of strikes or lockouts would no longer qualify for either unemployment benefit or strike pay (the latter point being made abundantly clear in Hamburg).

IG Metall head Steinkühler with [illegible] cracker. (Photo: [illegible])

How are unions to withstand pressure from members temporarily laid off by employers who claim strikes elsewhere have forced them to shut down?

Last time round IG Metall failed to prevent the staff of one factory from downing tools and going on strike to qualify for strike pay.

Union left-wingers such as Hans Janssen advocate "mobilisation" and greater "new mobility" in response to the changed situation.

Along lines similar to those endorsed by IG Druck, the printers' union, at its Essen conference, Herr Janssen has thought aloud about sit-ins to counteract indirect lockouts by the employers.

The IG Druck resolution has been strongly criticised, but Herr Janssen was not prepared to split terminological hairs. "It's the issue that's at stake, not the terms used," he said in a speech that was one of the most enthusiastically received in Hamburg.

He may have sounded just the right note to appeal to delegates' hearts, but this show of fighting spirit doesn't mean their minds won't continue to be troubled by headaches of one kind and another.

The more radical union strategy becomes and the greater the demands it makes on members' readiness to make sacrifices, the tougher another problem becomes. It is that white-collar workers, while growing increasingly important, and not merely in the context of technological development, yet are increasingly under-represented in IG Metall and other DGB-affiliated unions.

They make up over 30 per cent of the working population but only a little over 15 per cent of trade union membership.

Yet gaining the support of white-collar workers, in common with a new category of skilled worker Franz Steinkühler feels nowadays has only weak ties with the trade unions, is hard enough already.

The new IG Metall general secretary seems to have grasped the importance of these new categories of worker: problematic categories from the union viewpoint.

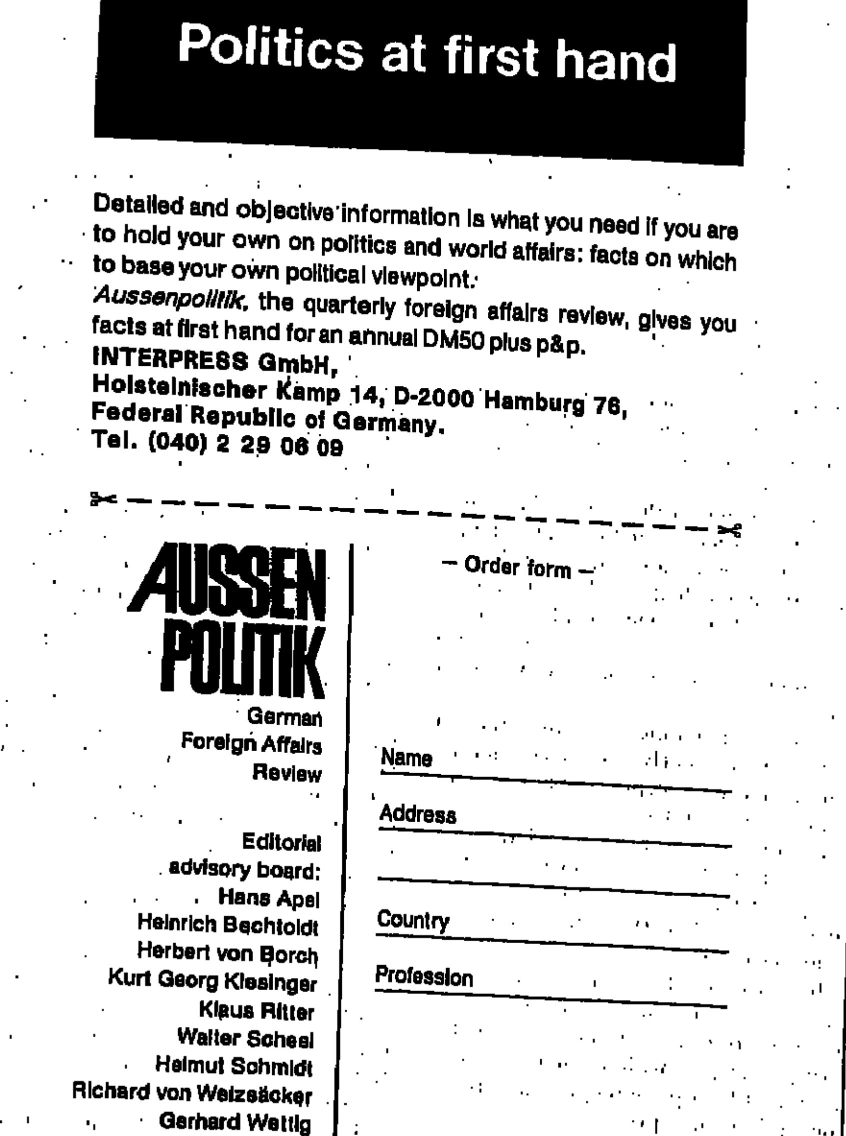
Once the Hamburg conference was over, it was said, a top-rank special unit was to be set up in IG Metall to deal with white-collar workers and new technology.

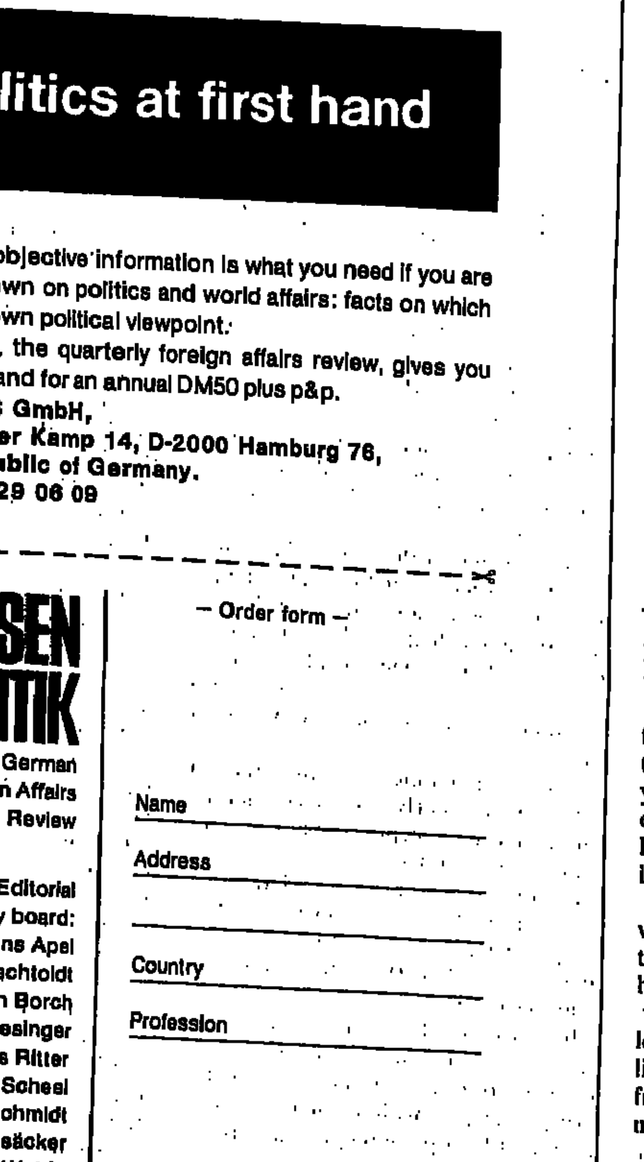
"Herr Steinkühler has persuaded Siegfried Bleicher of the DGB executive committee to take on the assignment. Herr Bleicher has made a name for himself by nipping scepticism about DGB technology policy in the bud.

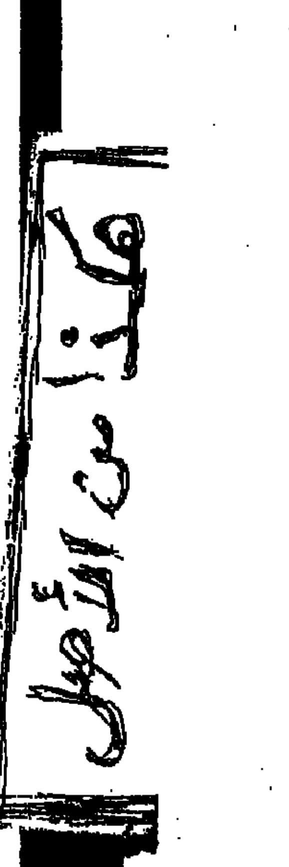
One point that is definitely valid about Franz Steinkühler, the best-known representative of a new generation of trade union leaders, is that he is a man who knows what he wants.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 October 1986)







■ BUSINESS

Joint international ventures not all pickled gherkin

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

A Hamburg cosmetics maker, Hans Schwarz GmbH, is the leading West German importer of Hungarian pickled gherkins.

This is not because pickled gherkins are used in the manufacture of cosmetics. It is because of commercial necessity. After years of effort, Schwarz has carved out a good niche for its products in the growing Hungarian market.

But the Hungarians don't have enough foreign currency to pay. So imports have to be set off against exports — barter.

The better sales are the more difficult it is to find suitable barter commodities, however. So, the Hamburg company has made a virtue out of necessity and, along with Hungarian partners, has set up a joint venture. Production began in Budapest in February.

There is a perceptible increase in interest among East Bloc states for greater cooperation with companies in the West.

The aim is quite clear. The East Bloc countries want to get hold of Western capital, technical know-how, and management and marketing techniques.

In this way domestic production will replace imports and increased exports will ease foreign exchange reserves.

In the last few weeks China has relaxed the conditions for joint venture investment. Hungary has started a drive to find new partners among firms in the West.

At the beginning of this year the most liberal joint venture legislation among the East Bloc states came into effect in Budapest.

A few weeks ago the West German foreign trade information bureau in Cologne issued a new guide to investment in Hungary.

There are so far 65 joint ventures operating in the country, 19 of them with West German partners. A number of new ventures are in the pipeline.

Discussions in Moscow on direct investment by Western firms are at a decisive phase. It appears that opponents of cooperation with the West are in the minority. They are of the opinion that to open up to Western capitalist ownership is against Soviet legal concepts, particularly Marxist-Leninist ideology.

According to a report in *Nachrichten für Außenhandel*, the foreign trade newspaper published in Cologne, Moscow has already drawn up plans for foreign firms to set up direct relations with 20 major Soviet companies. The Council of Ministers has reportedly selected a specific list of industrial projects for joint venture talks with Western firms.

A number of British, West German, French, Italian and Austrian firms have been invited to present their ideas on the most important features of joint venture contracts.

Economic affairs' leaders in Moscow are most interested in joint ventures involving consumer goods machinery (equipment to process foodstuffs and produce packaging, machinery for the manufacture of textiles and clothing).

The Cologne publication has mentioned various concrete proposals.

A West German electrical engineering company represented in Moscow, along with Soviet partners, was offered a joint venture for the manufacture of specialised medical apparatus.

It has been suggested to the firm that its centre for automation technology in Moscow should be extend for the manufacture and assembly of electronic components.

A board director of another company represented in Moscow was approached in July by two ministries about the establishment of a joint venture for the manufacture of nuclear power station instruments.

The obvious change of attitude has a far-reaching political and economic background. The fall in oil prices in the West has cut the Soviet Union's oil earnings by more than a half.

To avoid endangering the ambitious modernisation programme for the economy, set in motion by party leader Mikhail Gorbachov, other ways have had to be found to get hold of foreign currency.

The attempts to get closer economically have been made easier by the general political climate existing between the power blocs. Decisive steps towards a relaxation of tensions have been made — at least up to the summit meeting at the weekend in Reykjavik.

*Hans-Jürgen Moecke from the Co*logne foreign trade information bureau who has had considerable experience observing developments, said that, "a relaxed political situation was always a prerequisite for economic proposals such as the setting up of joint ventures. There must be trust before anyone is prepared to go along with a joint venture."

The question now is just how much influence will the failure of the summit conference have on the continuation of joint venture discussions.

There is some anxiety in West German industrial circles as to whether Russians taking part in joint venture discussions will turn up for further talks, arranged before the summit.

West German industry is rather overpowered by Russian proposals. With polite reserve a spokesman for a West German industrial Committee concerned with East Bloc trade commented that "it cannot be said that firms are queuing up."

The impression is that among East Bloc states expectations are exaggerated. A little scepticism and caution would be appropriate.

According to a survey by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, closely connected to the SPD, "Experiences in the 1970s showed that East-West joint companies did not fit easily into a planned economic system."

Volkswagen's assembly line in Shanghai . . . would still be cheaper to make the Santana in Germany and export it to China. (Photo: dpa)

The report listed a whole range of difficulties; unreliable auxiliary firms, the uncertain position of the joint company when it is obliged to import from the West because of a lack of supplies from auxiliary industries, the lack of a suitable workforce, the mass of administrative regulations and the differing sales interests of the partners.

The Western partner is interested in marketing the products of a joint venture within the Comecon area, but the East Bloc partner wants to export to the hard currency countries.

It has proven more difficult than was expected to introduce Western-style companies, obliged to calculate in terms of costs and profits.

Volkswagen has learned how difficult it is to make their Chinese partners understand these basics. That's why it would still be cheaper to import the Santana car from the VW factory at Wolfsburg than make it at the joint venture factory in Shanghai.

Another company reported how a joint venture partner, with astonishing logic, announced: "We do not have any transportation costs. We have our own truck."

Summing up experiences in joint ventures, it can be said that the one factor that is not divided between the partners is irritation.

Moecke maintains that it is essential that East-West joint venture companies should be organised to standards that are internationally acceptable.

He said: "There is no reason why we should not refer to internationally valid scientific and economic experience in dealings with communist partners who have no marketing experience."

His observations of joint ventures indicate that it is of primary importance that the Western partner can place a trusted representative on the board of management of the joint venture who can make decisions and exercise control on the spot.

That pre-supposes that the newly-formed company will be fairly important. The Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn takes up this point in its statement on developments, and the outlook for, cooperation with companies in East Bloc countries.

The statement says: "More and more Comecon countries are permitting Western partners to take up majority holdings in companies, including production companies. It can be assumed that Western management personnel as well as mechanics and technicians can be permanently posted to these companies to ensure on the spot that the company operates trouble-free."

The statement continues: "This can limit the problems that can crop up in certain equipment that has been exported. The presence of Western personnel can also prevent the misuse of equipment and machinery."

Bonn is the only Western government that has so far reacted to the new Russian open-mindedness. A complex paper has been published on this theme.

"Joint ventures do not work in a planned economy of the traditional calibre," the paper says unambiguously. "Experience has shown that a minimum of free-market economy elements must be applied."

Further on the report says: "Even if in the short-term nothing decisive has been said about capital investment, the joint-venture question is a gauge of the extent to which Western cooperation is wanted and just how attractive cooperation proposals can be for Western partners."

Even if both sides are eager to work together the joint venture remains a thorn in the side of the planned economic system.

Only through a long-term process will it be possible to overcome the ideological mistrust felt towards the communist situation. This mistrust can be sensed in the small joint ventures that were set up by the Polish government during martial law to overcome production shortages.

These firms achieved there targets better than was expected. The 700 firms that are currently operating employ 53,000.

Because they were set up to produce goods in short supply, they show a healthy profit, measured in free-market economy terms.

From the Western point of view they are joint ventures that function well. But in the Polish press they are increasingly branded as exploiters and profiteers.

Theo Mönch-Tegeder

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 October 1986)

Continued from page 4

from the Federal Crime Investigation Office visited Hoff in his cell on the evening after the trial and told him what a "good job" he had done.

There was already a debate ten years ago over whether turning state's evidence should be allowed under German law.

The desirable aim of making terrorists feel more insecure was offset by the dilution of the German-law principle according to which prosecution of an offence is mandatory for the public prosecutor (*Legalitätsprinzip*).

Recent judicial experience in the fight against the Mafia in Italy also shows that there are advantages and clear disadvantages. One man sentenced to ten years imprisonment, for example, had to be released following appeal proceedings, since it was discovered that the witness who turned state's evidence was a liar.

This unpredictable and alien legal element should not be incorporated into German law.

Werner Hill

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 October 1986)

Shipbuilding is in such a bad way that the main aim in Europe is now to prevent "a disorderly decline of the entire sector".

The words are those of a European Commission plan for the industry submitted to Community Industry Ministers.

There is no longer any mention of making the European shipbuilding industry competitive again. That idea has been given up.

Instead, the Community will be pleased if chaos and insolvencies can be averted.

The aim is to salvage what can be salvaged.

European shipyards are clearly on their last legs.

Over the past 10 years tonnage built in the Ten (the Twelve excluding Spain and Portugal) has declined from 5.1m to two million GRT.

Payrolls have been cut by well over half: from 207,000 in 1975 to 85,500 at the end of last year.

And despite a substantial reduction in capacity and tens of thousands out of work in coastal areas the Commission sees no chance in the foreseeable future of recovery in all sectors of the industry.

There is practically no domestic market for merchant shipbuilding capacity.

The world's merchant tonnage surplus is equivalent to six times the production capacity of the world's shipyards.

Actual overproduction by the world's shipyards amounts to 30 per cent.

In other words, despite cuts 3 out of 10 ships built are not needed.

■ INDUSTRY

'Orderly decline' plan for Europe's sinking shipyards



Non-specialist European shipbuilders are hopelessly outclassed in world markets because they are much more expensive than their Far Eastern competitors.

A Korean-built tanker costs only about half what it would cost to build in Europe.

As shipbuilding capacity is steadily cut back virtually everywhere else in the world, the Koreans are fast expanding, effortlessly increasing their share of world markets and starting to move into markets where European yards have been accustomed to enjoy a technological advantage.

South Korea has now begun building LPG. tankers, for instance, and the signs are that other threshold countries will follow in their footsteps.

So the Brussels experts have concluded that the European shipbuilding industry can only hope to regain a modicum of profitability once it has totally abandoned shipbuilding in sectors where it stands no chance of being competitive.

In the years ahead Europe must reduce its shipbuilding capacity by a further third.

By mid-1987 an estimated 30,000 more shipyard jobs will have to go, probably increasing to 40,000-45,000 by the end of 1989.

This shakedown is the only way European shipbuilding can hope to revert to production at 70 per cent of capacity between 1987 and 1990.

Even then, 80 per cent is the break-even point.

This decline and fall of an industry will have disastrous consequences for the people affected and for entire coastal areas that largely depend on shipbuilding for a livelihood.

Brussels plans to help offset the social repercussions of an essential restructuring programme by welfare and regional aid totalling 180 million ECUs, or DM378m.

Shipyard workers are, for instance, to be offered early retirement incentives and mobility bonuses.

The new shipbuilding guidelines submitted to the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg and designed to replace provisions made in 1981 amounts, to all intents and purposes, to a first-class funeral for much of the industry.

Grants, without which no shipyard can make ends meet at present, are only to be paid to patients who stand a real chance of survival.

So Brussels is to funnel funds into building special ships incorporating a *high level of technological development*, these being a sector in which European yards are best able to hold their own in competition with the Far East.

Subsidies are no longer to be paid toward the totally unprofitable construction of tankers or general cargo freighters.

The European Commission also plans a ceiling even for subsidies to shipyards that are felt to stand a chance of being able to hold their own.

Ceilings are to be set at a level offsetting the difference in costs between the most modern and efficient European shipyards and their Japanese and Korean competitors.

The Commission is also to make restructuring grants aimed at reducing further surplus capacity and at assisting in structural adjustment of the European shipbuilding industry to the world market situation.

Government grants to cover the cost of shipyard closures are to continue to be allowed, as are investment grants, although the latter must not lead to an increase in capacity.

Spain and Portugal are to be excluded from the terms of the new five-year agreement.

Their shipyards are still in the early days of restructuring.

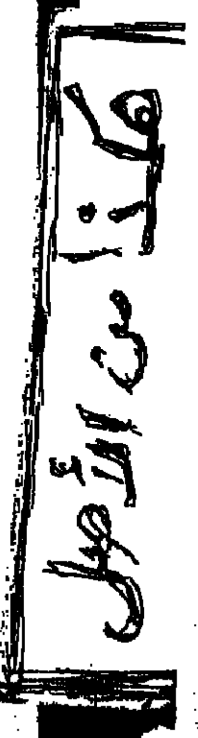
No-one is expecting a final decision yet on the shipbuilding package presented to the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg; the views of individual member-governments are too far apart to hold forth any real prospect of immediate agreement.

The German government would soonest pay no more grants at all, concentrating instead on closure bonuses and welfare provisions.

Britain and France insist on as generous a system of subsidies as possible.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 October 1986)



More pressure on Community steel producers

World steel consumption will increase by a paltry one per cent to 730 million tonnes by 1990, according to figures issued by the International Iron and Steel Institute.

It will then be a mere three per cent above the record output of 1979.

German raw steel production was slightly up last year, but has dropped seven per cent so far this year. German producers, privately owned, are afraid state-owned producers in other European countries will force them to bear the brunt of further production cuts.

Brazil, where the IISI annual conference was held, has in comparison, boosted raw steel output by 250 per cent since 1974.

It could redouble that to 40 million tonnes a year by the turn of the century if it maintains economic impetus.

Brazil, once a threshold country, would then have outstripped West Germany, the largest producer in Western Europe. China has headed Germany since 1982.

This prospect shows the radical changes in the world market. The IISI forecasts for 1990 are gloomy.

They are the result of a further decline in the established industrial countries, including the East Bloc, and of continued growth in the developing and threshold countries.

German steelmakers in Year 12 of the structural crisis that still besets the European steel industry, are back on a downhill gradient.

West German raw steel output, 2.8 per cent up in 1985, has declined by seven per cent so far this year and is unlikely to total more than 38 million tonnes.

That would be little more than in 1982 and 1983, which were the worst years of crisis for the German industry.

Low output alone is by no means dramatic. The Germans, in keeping with European Community guidelines, have long set aside any hopes of reverting to their 1974 record: over 53 million tonnes.

Convinced that capacity needs to be cut in the established industrial countries, they now see the leeway for profitable domestic production as lying between 35 million and 40 million tonnes a year.

Special factors are to blame for the setbacks that seem likely to beset the industry next year — in striking contrast to the overall improvement in German economic trends.

Steel exports to countries outside the European Community are plummeting and imports skyrocketing, with the result that most German steelmakers seem sure to plunge back into the red.

They ran up debts until 1983 but have been back in the black since 1984. Those were the days (or soon will have been)!

The reasons, again, are special to steel. The dollar's exchange-rate decline, reducing the quantity and profitability of exports to countries outside the European Community, could have been a windfall in cutting the cost of raw materials.

It wasn't, the reason being that steelmakers, unlike other industries in the European Community, more than pass such cost cuts straight on to consumers in the form of lower prices.

There are two main reasons why they do so even to the point of plunging back into the red:

● First, over half the Community's steel is made by state-owned corporations that

Continued on page 9

Turkey of all countries, surely a developing rather than an industrialised nation, is in line to give the German arms trade a boost.

By the terms of a most unusual counter-trade agreement Bonn is to ship arms worth DM150m, including 150 ageing Leopard I tanks, to the Bosphorus.

Turkey in return will undertake not to send extra migrant workers to the Federal Republic once it is a full member of the European Community.

Once Turkey is a full member (it currently enjoys associate status), Turkish citizens will be freely entitled to live and work wherever they want within the Community.

This arrangement suits the German armaments industry splendidly. Tank manufacturers will stand to benefit from extra orders for the more up-to-date Leopard Mk II to replace Mk Is exported to Turkey — and they badly need new orders.

Large-scale Bundeswehr contracts have been fulfilled and, with fresh orders slow to come in, it is clear that men will otherwise have to be laid off before long.

German arms manufacturers have not been particularly successful in the export trade. It has already missed out on one major export order this year and looks like following it up with a second failure soon.

Early this summer India surprisingly decided to equip its artillery with Swedish, not German anti-tank guns, and now a seemingly firm billion-deutschemark Saudi contract looks as though it might fall through.

Talks with Saudi Arabia began a year ago on a multi-billion-mark package including the construction of an ordnance factory but seem to be making little headway now Riyadh's petrodollars are less plentiful than they used to be.

This delay is grist to the mill of Germany's hard-working arms trade competitors, who are doing their best to spike the guns of German-Arab arms accord.

Surplus capacity, on the increase for several years all over the world, has weighed heavily on prices and terms — to the chagrin of fellow-exporters and the delight of arms buyers.

The international arms market is a buyer's market again. Demand that boomed in the 1970s was brought to a halt by shortage of funds in developing countries and crisis areas.

Even German technology, including the Leopard II battle tank, is no longer the apple of every arms buyer's eye.

Up-and-coming arms trade competitors such as Israel, Brazil, North Korea and Taiwan were quick to sense the trend and lobby governments still keen to buy arms but short of cash.

They have made life hard for established Western arms manufacturers by marketing low-cost, hard-wearing and easy-to-handle weapons rather than advanced technology.

■ MUNITIONS

Turkish deal set to boost flagging arms industry



This sales strategy, says Herbert Wulf of Hamburg University's peace research institute, is more in keeping with conditions and circumstances in Third World countries.

German manufacturers are starting to feel the pinch. Naval dockyards in north Germany are on the brink of closure, with orders down to rock bottom.

In south Germany military aircraft manufacturers are in the doldrums, with Tornado multi-role combat aircraft contracts nearing completion and no further orders from Bonn on the horizon.

The outlook for tank manufacturers in north and south looks equally gloomy, with an end to the Leopard II construction programme in sight.

Nearly all major Bundeswehr contracts are nearing completion, and Defence Ministry planners in Bonn don't expect to place fresh orders on any scale until the mid-1990s.

Third-generation arms innovation is then envisaged as costing about DM240bn at today's prices.

The Hamburg peace research institute feels orders will amount to at least DM300bn. It argues that estimates have consistently fallen well short of the mark in the past.

That still leaves lean years ahead despite the extra orders for 250 Leopard II tanks and 30-40 Tornado fighters Bonn plans.

Critics see the three-cornered deal between Bonn, Ankara and the German arms industry as a politically motivated arrangement aimed solely at stemming the tide of migrant workers.

Turkey, it could be argued, has agreed to domestic unemployment as the price to be paid for German tanks.

Similarly, Herr Wulf says, Portugal only placed a firm order for three frigates with German shipyards when Bonn agreed to bail Lisbon out with a DM400m loan.

The German arms industry, with a payroll of nearly 290,000, is said by the Hamburg institute to be in a state of decline that cannot be stopped.

In some sectors orders and turnover are expected to plummet 30-40 per cent. Lay-offs, short-time working and even works closures are not ruled out.

In collaboration with IG Metall, the 2.5-million-member German iron, steel and engineering workers union, and the Hans Böckler Foundation, a research unit attached to the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, the Hamburg institute has spent two years looking into whether arms manufacturers are in a position to switch to non-military products.

If they had this option the fluctuation in military demand and constant threat of redundancy could be eliminated.

The findings sound an optimistic note: "Conversion of the armaments industry is not ruled out because companies are incapable of manufacturing anything other than weapons.

"Technically, most companies are well able to switch to manufacturing alternative products."

There is no lack of alternatives to armaments the government could order: investment in environmental protection, energy supplies, education or public transport, for instance.

Project experts do not share the widespread view that arms specialists are no use for non-military production. Limited retraining programmes are all they need, it seems.

Herbert Wulf and Peter Wilke of the Hamburg institute say the change-over from military to civilian production is readily conceivable in the Federal Republic, where firms that manufacture nothing but armaments are the exception.

Military output accounts for over 50 per cent of turnover at only a dozen of the 30 leading German arms manufacturers.

Yet despite this technical and economic feasibility the two men feel somewhat pessimistic. There are, they say, three main grounds for scepticism:

● First, there is a worldwide lack of enthusiasm to disarm or cut back arms production.

Governments aim, in contrast, at boosting existing capacity to ensure domestic manufacturers keep abreast of technological developments.

● Second, "corporate decision-making structures" are said to have blocked alternative proposals submitted by, say, trade union working parties.

The alternative yardstick of the social usefulness of goods produced is admitted, however, in many cases not to be in keeping with the logic of market forces.

● Third, economic policy and what is said to be a critical economic situation provide little incentive for diversification and change.

On grounds of orderly administration company managements are said to reject government intervention to promote the change-over even though the arms industry is more dependent than any on government moves. These trends are said to be encouraged by growing concentration in the armaments industry. In 1980 the Top Ten arms manufacturers accounted for 37 per cent of orders.

Last year the Big Two (Daimler-Benz, including AEG and MTU, and MBB, including Krauss-Maffei) accounted for roughly a third of orders.

The change-over from arms trade to civilian manufacture is rare in other countries too, peace researchers say, with reference to the United States.

US defence spending was reduced after the Korean and Vietnam wars: Arms manufacturers responded for the most part by laying off staff and cutting back output rather than by laboriously trying to develop alternative production lines.

Firms that diversified did so, in America then as in Germany today, by taking other companies over or by launching entirely new companies.

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 October 1986)

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tend to concentrate on jobs rather than profits.

● Second, low-cost steel imports from countries outside the Community now meet 14 per cent of German market requirements.

This being so, and in view of over DM100bn in subsidies paid to competitors in other Common Market countries by 1985, German steelmakers have appealed to the Bonn government and the European Commission for a breathing space.

Production quotas were imposed at the height of the last steel crisis. They are due to be waived next year for a second fifth of rolling mill products. German steelmakers want quotas to be retained for a while.

In technical and economic terms the German steel industry feels a match for fair competition from any quarter. But steel capacity still needs to be reduced by a further seventh in the European Community.

What German steelmakers want to avoid is cuts that affect them and their jobs rather than those of state-owned steel corporations in other Common Market countries.

This, for once, is a sensible argument in support of retaining controls. The Council of Ministers is to review the position in Luxembourg.

Joachim Gehlhoff

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 October 1986)

■ NOBEL PRIZES

Elie Wiesel and trauma of the Holocaust

Jewish writer Elie Wiesel has been awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize. The citation said of Wiesel, who lives in New York and teaches at Boston University, that he was "one of the most important intellectuals and guides of our times, in which violence, oppression and racialism continue to play so significant a part the world over." This year there were 81 nominations for the 67th Peace Prize, 57 individuals and 24 organisations.



Guilt feelings of the survivor . . . Elie Wiesel. (Photo: epd)

Rabbi Nachman described man's destiny in this way; a man, sentenced to death sits in a cart pulled by two horses. They know where they are going, to the gallows. The horses are named *Day* and *Night*, and they race, gallop to their destination.

Elie Wiesel tells this Hasidim tale in one of his books.

It only seems to be a yesterday's tale. Although he reaches back into the rich literary traditions of Eastern Jewry, he applies them to today.

There are many examples to be found in his books that express a deep pessimism, but this is only rationalism that attacks belief but does not conquer it.

Wiesel wrote: "Common sense tells us that the Messiah was killed in the concentration camps. Nevertheless I pray *every morning of every day that the Messiah might come.*"

Elie Wiesel is a Jew. He survived the Holocaust, which means he is twice marked.

He was born in Sighet in Transylvania, then part of Hungary, but after the war it became a part of Romania.

But what significance does that have to a 15-year-old who knew all about the German concentration camps at Birkenau, Auschwitz and Buchenwald? He survived whilst the others died, were murdered

He is marked by the trauma of all survivors; "Why me? Why not the others?"

After the war he went to France, studied at the Sorbonne and began to write, mainly for Israeli magazines.

His first book, *Und die Welt hat geschweigen*, (And the world remained silent), written in Yiddish, appeared in Buenos Aires in 1956. It summed up contemporary history from a personal point of view.

Then he changed to French. He first came to public attention with *Die Juden des Schweigens* (The silent Jews), a book about the Jews in the Soviet Union, but also a book about a threatened, persecuted community that is dying out.

Since then there have been many books, tales, novels, questions addressed to Jewry, questions put to God.

When he tells the story of Cain and Abel he does not cast judgment on Cain alone. Is not Abel guilty because he did not comfort his brother? And did not God provoke the deed through his injustice?

God is not outside this world. In one of his books a Hasidim, a member of a Jewish mystical sect founded in Poland about 1750, asks God: "Without our sins where would you begin with your forgiveness?"

A rabbi prays, and warns: "Redeem your people, Lord, before it is too late, otherwise you run the danger of having no-one to redeem."

In Wiesel's play *Der Prozeß von Schamgorod* (The Shamgorod trial) two survivors of a pogrom force three wandering Jewish players to enact with them a trial. The accused is God, "who gives the murderers the power and the vicitms the tears. If he is guilty he should be put to death, if not he should stop executing us."The play takes place in 1648 when Cossack atamans in Khmelniskiy in Volhynia and Podolia in the West Ukraine killed Jews.

What is the significance of this date? Jewish history, mainly a history of persecution, is always contemporary. Wiesel targets his work on the contemporary. He said: "Why do I write? To snatch forgetfulness from you. And in this way help the dead to overcome death."

Wiesel has tackled this task in many ways, in books but primarily by contributions to magazines, as a lecturer in Boston and Yale.

Wiesel, who since the beginning of the 1960s has lived in New York, has accepted a whole series of honorary appointments in university establishments and aid organisations, among them the Holocaust Memorial Council, that is working on the establishment of a museum in Washington.

The honours bestowed on him include 25 honorary doctorates and any number of literary prizes.

He has been repeatedly nominated for the Nobel Peace and Liturature Prizes, recently by a group of 80 Bundestag members, who can now take pride in the fact that the Oslo Committee has taken notice of their proposal.

Wiesel achieved considerable notoriety during President Reagan's visit to West Germany last year.

When it was announced that the President's programme would include a visit to the Bitburg military cemetery, where members of the SS are also buried, Wiesel protested vehemently.

He said that it made a farce of history to consider SS men as among the victims of the Third Reich. He said, however: "I do not believe in collective guilt. How could I believe then in a collective innocence?"

Vengeance has no place in Wiesel's thinking. His novel *The Fifth Son*, for example, tells the story of a man who learns that a concentration camp guard, who murdered his brother, lives as a respected industrialist in Germany under a different name. He seeks him out to shoot him.

But then he holds back. "The Lord may punish, that is his right. It is not my

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Wole Soyinka, prolific writer who side-steps ideologies

British publisher Rex Collings says Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka "is something of a universal man like his Renaissance predecessors: poet, playwright, novelist, critic, lecturer, teacher, actor, translator, politician and publisher."

Soyinka has been awarded this year's Nobel Prize for Literature. He has been nominated several times.

Collings omitted to say Soyinka was also a director and essayist, but that is *not terribly significant* since the man himself has always been against any kind of pigeon-holing.

A student in Seattle once asked him: "You seem to wear three caps, poet, playwright and novelist. Is there any conflict between the three? Which do you prefer?"

Soyinka : "Yes. Well, there are more than three caps. One which you omitted to mention is that first and foremost I wear the cap of the human being; and therefore the other three caps are really very minor. You know, rain covers, sun shields and things like that."

Oluwole Akinwande Soyinka was born on 13 July 1934 in Western Nigeria. He described his childhood memories, a city childhood in a Christian home in Abeokuta, in his book *Aké*.

His father, headmaster of the elementary school in Aké, was deeply Christian like his mother, but their contacts to Yoruba tribal traditions were not broken. In Soyinka's works they play an important role.

Soyinka writes in English, and critic *D.A.N. Jones said in* an American magazine article published in 1969 that he doubted that there was a better dramatic poet writing in English.

But Soyinka's English is riddled with his mother tongue Yoruba, in his ways of thought, in his syntax, in his delight in word-play.

Soyinka confesses that he favours eclecticism. He says that every creative person, scientist or artist, has a right to be eclectic. As a consequence in his works there are examples of Ancient



Egyptian, Greek and Yoruba mythology. Quotations from the Bible appear beside quotes from Shakespeare, Yeats and Joyce.

Soyinka has adapted Euripides' *Baccahae* and Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera*.

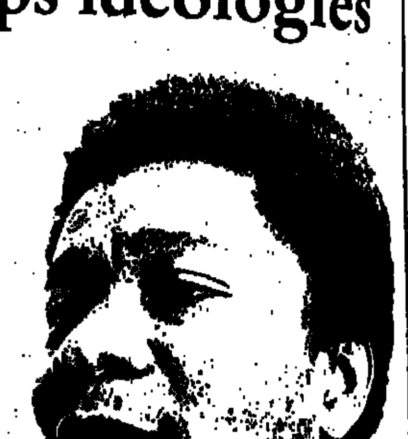
Soyinka, 52, had a privileged education. He went to his father's elementary school when he was four. Then he went to high school and in 1952 he entered the Government College in Ibadan, where he met many of his later writer colleagues.

From 1954 to 1957 he studied literature and drama at Leeds in England, and was later dramatic adviser to the Royal Court Theatre in London.

In 1958 he directed his play *The Swamp Dwellers* for the annual London University drama festival.

Since then he has produced his works all over the world. One was filmed, *Kongi's Harvest*, in which he played the title role.In 1960 he returned to Nigeria. He had already attracted attention and he was commissioned to write a play for Nigeria's Independence celebrations.

What he produced, *A Dance of the*



In favour of eclecticism . . . Wole Soyinka. (Photo: Ullstein)

Forests, was not what the organising committee expected. It was *not* a hymn of praise to the glorious pre-colonial past, but an uncompromising exposure of heros of the past, artificially blown up.

The play was turned *down*. Soyinka formed his own theatre group and took *A Dance of the Forests* on tour through Nigeria.

This was repeated when several years ago the Shagari regime dropped a play by Soyinka from the official programme.

Nigeria's intellectuals never took him seriously. They believed that his difficult language, his images and symbols could only be understood by a few. But the politicians soon realised how dangerous this uncompromising, non-conforming singer in the wilderness could be.

Soyinka became politically active when it was obvious that there was about to be a break between Biafra and the central government.

Although he is a Yoruba *he did* not go along with the central government nor the secessionists, *He did try*, however, to make the Ibo point of view clear and did his best to prevent fighting.

In autumn 1967, when war had broken out, he was arrested in Lagos on the personal order of Head of State Gowon, and placed in the Kaduna maximum security prison three months later.

He was in solitary confinement until 26 October 1969. During this time he was not charged nor was he sentenced.

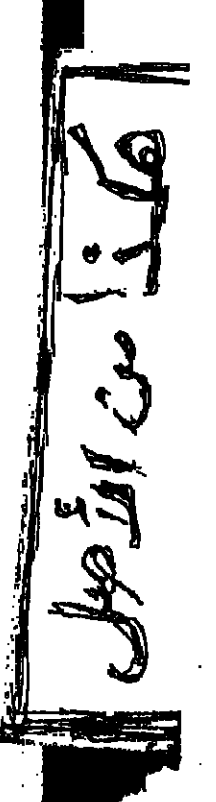
He described his experiences in prison in his book *The Man Died*. The main message of the book was that people die who keep silent in the face of tyranny.

The 21 months in solitary confinement were for Soyinka "an initiation, a transition, that, looking back, I would not have missed." He said that he had "two years laboratory experience with people behind him." He came to the conclusion that mankind is awful, but that was no cause for resignation.

After imprisonment Soyinka published a number of seemingly gloomy works, the novel *Season of Anomy*, the play *Madmen and Specialists* and the collection of poetry *A Shuttle in the Crypt*.

Although he exposes the awfulness of mankind his works display a deep feeling for humanity. This expression of

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■ NOBEL PRIZES

Look! said Alice excitedly, peering through the glass

This year's Nobel Prize for physics spans half a century of electron microscope research, with laureates Gerd Binnig and Heinrich Rohrer continuing work begun by the third prizewinner, Ernst Ruska, in the 1920s.

It used to be said that one day, Ernst Ruska would win a Nobel Prize. But he never did. Until now. The 79-year-old has at last become a winner.

The Swedish Royal Academy had not forgotten his achievements.

Professor Ruska, who invented the first electron microscope over 50 years ago, had not, after all, faded away into the past.

His is a half-share in the 1986 Nobel Prize for physics, the highest accolade science has to offer.

The other half is shared by two men responsible for exciting new developments in electron microscopy. So the prize spans a lifetime.

Another German, Gerd Binnig, 39, shares the other half of this year's award for his work on the screen tunnel microscope. Dr Binnig is the 17th German physics laureate.

At IBM's Zürich research laboratories he and a Swiss colleague, Dr Heinrich Rohrer, 53, have developed a device making even fractions of an atom visible.

Professor Ruska's initial reaction on learning the news was a combination of surprise and pride. He will be 80 on 25 December and was probably no longer seriously expecting ever to be honoured in this way.

He well recalls how hard it was for him as an engineering student in the late 1920s to gain acceptance of ande ensure a breakthrough for his new idea.

"No-one believed for a moment it would ever work," he says. He had to build two working prototypes to prove his point.

He was a practical experimenter, say people who have long known him, and not a research scientist given to hiding away in his lab.

He got on well with others, was always happy to lend a helping hand and closely followed progress made by his students.

He retired in 1974 but has maintained close ties with places where he used to work, especially the Max Planck Society's Fritz Haber Institute in Berlin.

He set up the institute's electron microscopy department after the war.

Berlin was where his career began in the late 1920s when he worked at the Technical University on how to bundle electron rays with the aid of magnetic lenses.

Optical microscopy had reached the end of a road. The optical microscope as invented by Hooke in 1655 and constantly improved had enabled scien-



Initial scepticism . . . Gerd Binning.



Late recognition . . . Ernst Ruska. (Photos: AP)

tists to probe minute objects invisible to the naked eye.

But light waves were no longer enough to gain scientific access to the structure of matter in still grehter detail.

There was nothing new about the idea of using electron rays rather than light waves. But how were they to be incorporated in a microscope and concentrated on a minute object?

Ruska made his breakthrough in collaboration with Bodo von Borries and Max Knoll at the research department of a company in Zehlendorf, Berlin.

They used magnets to bundle the radiation and beam it through the object that was to be investigated.

From 1937 Ruska and Borries worked for Siemens & Halske, developing the first series-manufactured electron microscope, which was soon used in research laboratories all over the world.

An electron microscope consists of an upright column with a cathode at its upper end. This "metallic tip" emits negatively-charged particles — electrons — when heated.

They are first accelerated by a positively-charged anode, then bundled, or focussed, by ring-shaped magnets and

DIE WELT

sent through a thin object in the middle of the radiation tunnel.

There must be a vacuum inside the column if the arrangement is to work. The electrons would otherwise soon be entangled by atmospheric particles.

As they pass through the thin object the electrons are deflected and sent flying in various directions. The angle depends on how thick the material is at the place of impact.

The other electrons are focussed at the lower end of the column on to an electron-sensitive layer.

The result is a negative image of the object, with all parts of the material that were particularly dense showing as low in electrons.

The electron microscope enabled scientists to examine minute particles. Its importance for scientific research cannot be overestimated.

Biologists, for instance, were able to study the building blocks of life, such as genetic material in the atom and many other cell patterns.

The electron microscope has been constantly improved over the past 50 years, with Professor Ruska playing a leading role. Structures can now be "seen" by an electron microscope that are a mere two millionths of a millimetre in diameter.

In theory even smaller particles could be probed, but limits are imposed by the complicated treatment the material has to undergo.

Even so, the electron microscope still outperforms 100-fold the most powerful optical microscope.

The screen tunnel microscope lately developed by Gerd Binnig and Heinrich Rohrer is another revolutionary innovation.

It is based on the principle that the surface of certain materials can be traced using an extremely fine needle kept at a distance of one nanometre (millionth of a millimetre) from the object.

The progress of the needle as it crosses the "rough" surface is controlled by tunnel electrons that hover like a cloud of particles over every metal surface.

Interaction between the atoms of the tracer needle and the tunnel electrons can be used to investigate the atomic structure of the surface.

The needle must, of course, be exactly controlled and the apparatus must be absolutely oscillation-free.

Scientific opinion was most reserved when their work was first outlined in the German-speaking world about a year ago.

Scientists felt the device wasn't a real microscope and could be used only to probe metallic surfaces.

They have since realised how important the process is likely to be.

The needle can be used as a kind of micro-manipulator aimed at individual surface atoms or molecules.

Molecular electronic circuits now seem feasible as a prerequisite of the biocomputer using electronic molecules instead of silicium chips.

Ernst Leitz, the Wetzlar camera manufacturers, have now taken on the task of making the first commercial screen tunnel microsdope.

"We still have stony ground to cross but we are confident of succeeding," says project manager Schlüter.

No-one yet knows what sectors the process can be used in.

Intensive research is in progress. Leitz hope to have the first prototype ready by early next year.

"The Nobel Prize naturally gives our motivation an added boost," Herr Schlüter says.

Ludwig Kürten

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 October 1986)

■ THE CINEMA/TV

In flight from the world of grown-ups

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Where children are concerned most people have a heart, even though it may amount to no more than a heart-shaped car sticker proclaiming how fond they are of children.

Yet they seem strikingly slapdash on details such as children's viewing habits. Children spend at least as much time watching TV as their parents.

Why not, you may ask? Some films, for one, are surely unsuitable to be seen by children. But that is arguably the least serious problem.

Children have a healthy disrespect for the software of TV, much healthier than the adults' attitude. They take what they can use.

But they are powerlessly at television's mercy inasmuch as watching TV is intensive training in structural pauperisation of the sense of sight.

The problem is not, as used to be imagined, that films as such invade and destroy the children's world of fantasy.

Quite the reverse. If the cinema is really effective it can be even more stimulating than story-telling. Always assuming the reception it is given is comparable with what used to be given to a visit to the circus.

It must be seen as a concentration of experience in a strange place and among many people and not as a daily routine, a means of keeping the children quiet and a way of making films banal for children.

Strange though it may sound, it takes the totality of imagery as seen on the cinema screen, the hold the film has on you when the lights go out, to enable the imagination to really escape from the daily routine.

Children are able at the cinema to rid themselves of adult realism and to build little houses of their own.

The International Children's Film Festival, held for the 12th time in Frankfurt, is what prompts these observations.

The Frankfurt festival was founded by Walter Schobert, curator of the Frankfurt Film Museum, and has been co-organised for the past eight years by the German Children's and Youth Film Centre in Remscheid, near Cologne.

The 1986 programme featured 18 new films from 14 countries, and nearly every show, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., played to a full house.

Children stormed into the rows of seats at the Kommunales Kino, obviously delighted with the communal experience and even putting up with teachers' questions afterwards about the films they had seen.

The children were a specialist audience by any standard: tumultuous when the action was tumultuous or when the screen dialogue was too heavy.

They took a dim view of films consisting entirely of dialogue and lacking in pictures, such as the Spanish entry, Red-Haired Theo, by Paco Lucio.

It was an educational film, replete with social criticism and predominated by what adults feel matters.

"Children's Films Need Criticism" was the theme of a conference that was due to be held as part of the festival but has now been postponed until January.

The same folly and wisdom that besets adult cinema applies to films for children.

Jan on the Barge by Helmut Dziuba from the GDR, for instance, was an educational pamphlet, with quotations such as: "If your father is a Communist he can't be a murderer."

The film allegedly depicts a voyage of adventure by a 13-year-old boy looking for his father, who is said, in Nazi Germany in 1934, to be a murderer.

All that is adventurous about the subject and how it is treated is that such adult wishful thinking should still survive 30 years after Stalin's death.

The jury, with equal numbers of adults and children, can be said to have arrived at the right decisions.

It steered a wide berth of Momo, the latest Johannes Schaaf spectacular based on a Michael (Never-Ending Story) Ende book.

Momo, a majestically styled end-of-the-world fantasy oozing with symbolism, was ignored and the festival prize awarded to the best entry, My Life as a Dog, by Lasse Hallström from Sweden.

The tale it told was sad but had the ring of truth. Ingmar, 12, has a mother who is bedridden and hasn't long left to live.

Teetering on the brink of psychosis, he hangs on to his dog, dreaming of the beach in summer when his mother was still able to laugh. He is sent to his uncle, who lives in a small village, and suddenly the film is like the summer holidays, full of people with good intentions and people of all kinds who manage to make ends meet. They may have a heart for children, but if they do, then it is because they themselves are reluctant to be entirely adult. My Life as a Dog is a masterpiece soon to be networked and highly recommended, especially to those who themselves are no longer able to be children. It tells a tale of happiness despite sorrow, of the art of growing up and of yet maintaining the fragile childhood world of wishful thinking. This interface is the crux: the nexus of childhood and old age, of children's films and adult cinema, of the outlook for fantasy in everyday life. The children's judgement was professional, impassioned. There was no mistaking the way they voted in the ongoing proceedings between cinema and the new media.

If the choice were theirs they wouldn't descend on Frankfurt cinemas just once a year. They would soon no longer understand what had fascinated them about TV.

One wonders how many parents see TV licence fees as a cut-price alternative to the cost of hiring a babysitter.

Michael Kötz

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 19 October 1986)

Helluva lot of goings-on up there in the abbey, squire



Umberto Eco's bestseller The Name of the Rose paints a brilliant, enthralling picture of European mediaeval ways held together by a detective tale that makes compelling reading.

The appalling events within the walls of the Benedictine abbey on the slopes of the Apennines, are told in an epic 650 pages by a connoisseur of the Middle Ages.

They have been made into a screenplay by French director Jean-Jacques Annaud and a team of four scriptwriters.

The two-hour, star-studded screen epic costing DM46m was first shown in Los Angeles and New York and networked, with over 100 copies, in Germany from mid-October.

It is the film version of an Italian novel made by a French director and a German producer, Bernd Eichinger of Munich.

Eco's tale of what befell the monks in the last week of November 1327 in the monastery of Eberbach, tells the following tale:

William of Baskerville, an English Franciscan friar, arrives at the abbey on a delicate ecclesiastical mission with his somewhat simple acolyte Adson.

At the abbey, a reflection of the age of mediaeval change and a melting-pot of civilisations, mysterious and dreadful happenings occur.

One monk dies after jumping out of a window. Another is found drowned in pig's blood. A third is found dead in a bathing house.

The key to events is to be found in the mysterious labyrinth of the library. It is a book that is taboo, a work on poetics by Aristotle, a treatise on laughter that none of the monks is to be allowed to read.

It is a tale of inquisition and heresy, hellfire and the stake, torture and the sensation of death and destruction: a brightly shining era as the chief character and the abbey as its reflection.

The subtle thriller penned by Umberto Eco, 54, comes into its own on film, but in an even more popular manner, a manner more in keeping with the medium.

Eichinger, who produced The Boat and The Never-Ending Story, says the Middle Ages as portrayed in the novel were anything but tiresome trimmings.

There was more to the novel than an Agatha Christie-style detective tale transposed into a mediaeval monastery.

Director Annaud was delighted at the opportunity of telling a tremendous tale about a group of extraordinary people who do each other in for the sake of a theoretical treatise on laughter.



The Name of the Rose without literary digressions but with (left) Sean Connery and F. Murray Abraham. (Photo: Neue Constantin)

A constant factor

Sean (007) Connery as William of Baskerville seeks, like a mediaeval Sherlock Holmes, to shed light on the darkness of the appalling events.

He succeeds in portraying the superior, relaxed and humorous Franciscan friar as the one constant factor in the turbulent scenes that take place against the mostly gloomy background of monastery walls.

He does so alongside a wide range of characters such as his inquisitory adversary Bernardo Gui, played by F. Murray Abraham, cellarman Remigio de Varagine, played by Helmut Qualtinger, and librarian Malachias, played by Volker Prechtel.

Eco's eye for accuracy of detail in a novel about crime committed in an attempt to prevent the spread of knowledge falls by the wayside at times in the film.

Yet there are also magnificent film scenes, such as the wanderings of the two amateur detectives William and Adson round the Piranesi-like maze of the abbey library.

There is also the fascinating camera work of Tonino Delli Colli, who lends effective support to the tension-packed action, underpinning a plot that heads to a fast and furious climax.

likely to delight cinemagoers despite its critics — and not just cinemagoers keen on complicated crime plots.

Literary purists will miss much of the prize-winning novel, such as the countless literary digressions the novelist allowed himself.

Film fans in contrast will be well aware that death in the abbey is not just for kicks and that its aim is to deprive the monks of access to a book and, with it, to knowledge.

The film version, with its dramatic scenery and impressive light effects, including scenes shot on location in the ideally suited Rhenish Cistercian

Hanns-Jochen Kaffsack

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 3 October 1986)

■ EDUCATION

Contemporary history dominates US meeting of German-affairs experts



Ten years ago an organisation aimed at promoting German studies was founded in the United States.

The German Studies Association (GSA), an interdisciplinary group comprising American historians, literature specialists and political scientists, was aimed at increasing American knowledge of Germany and German history, especially through schools and universities.

Today the GSA has about 1,000 members; it publishes a respected paper, the *German Studies Review*, and promotes dialogue between German and American liberal arts specialists and social scientists.

GSA celebrated its 10th anniversary at the beginning of October with its annual conference in the New Mexico city of Albuquerque, where more than 350 delegates turned up.

At the first meeting a decade ago, there had been a little over 50 delegates. The composition has also changed: members were once almost entirely historians. Now literature experts comprise about 40 per cent of the delegates.

At this conference there were also many visitors from universities and other scientific tertiary education institutes in the Federal Republic. In addition historians from Austria, East Germany and France took part.

There were a lot of eminent delegates including, to name just a few, Christopher R. Browning, Gerald D. Feldmann, Henry Friedlander, Leonidas E. Hill, Peter Hoffmann, Georg G. Iggers, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, Michael Kater, Klemens von Klemperer and Gerhard L. Weinberg.

Over the three days, 65 sessions were held with more than 150 speeches. In view of the fact that contemporary historians were heavily represented, issues such as the Weimar Republic, National Socialism and The German Question from 1945 up to the Present Day were predominant themes.

Wolfgang Scheffler, who for more than 20 years presided over cases in Nazi war-crime trials, put the trials in historical perspective.

George Kent, Peter Hoffmann and Leonidas E. Hill demonstrated in their respective contributions — over Franz von Papen, the Stauffenberg brothers and Ernst von Weizsäcker — that the biographical approach does have its place in historical research beside social and economic history.

Christopher Browning, a widely recognised researcher on the Holocaust, told of new findings on the subject. The problem of Nazi social politics and the relationship between National Socialism and "modernisation" were articulated in their respective contributions by Marie-Luise Recker, Wolfgang Michalka and me.

Olaf Gröhler, of the East German Academy of Science, talked about new trends in his country's research into the area of Fascism and the Second World War.

The tension between the two German states was reflected in the contribution of Otfried Henning, the Parliamentary Secretary of State at the Bonn Ministry for Intra-German Affairs. He objected not only to the Marxist theory of Fascism, but also to the efforts which in Germany are being pushed by "a very small group of right-wing extremists and a by no means insignificant group of left-wing extremists."

He said: "A special path via neutrality to German unity must, because of the geographical and political situation of Germany, inevitably lead to total dependence on the Soviet Union."

This view, however, was not accepted by everyone. For example, Austrian historian Rolf Steininger put forward the idea, based on new appraisal of evidence, that Germany had missed its chance of reunification because of Adenauer's blunt rejection of the 1952 Stalin Note. This brought an admonishment from a West German historian, Wolf D. Gruner, who said that Steininger was acting as a "new Messiah of neutralism."

Opinions also varied about such current issues as SDI and relations between America and Europe. American political scientist Wolfram Hanrieder, recognised as an authority on Nato, sharply criticised SDI (the Star Wars programme) as above all having already caused alienation between the USA and its European allies.

He said the possible but doubtful military-strategic uses of the project would be far outweighed by the damage it caused to the Western Alliance.

Some delegates agreed. But there were challenges from both American and German delegates.

For example, both Robert G. Livingston and Wolfgang-Uwe Friedrich pointed out that the first positive result of SDI was the increased readiness of the Soviet Union to return to the negotiating table.

Despite some controversy in scientific fields, the congress took part in an extraordinarily positive atmosphere. Above all, on the periphery there was a lot of personal contact between German and American historians, literature specialists and political scientists. Here, discussion in an open and friendly atmosphere overcame political and specialist-knowledge limitations.

The significance that the Federal Republic attaches to the GSA was made clear by the participation of a Bonn Foreign Office senior official, Barthold Witte, who spoke about Bonn's culture policies in relation to the Warsaw Pact countries.

The German academic exchange service has put up two prizes respectively of 500 dollars and 1,000 dollars for the best scientific essay and the best book written by GSA members.

This year the awards have gone to James Retallack for his essay on Hans-Ulrich Wehler's book, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich*; and Paul M. Lützeler for his work on Hermann Broch.

Rainer Zitelmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 October 1986)

Continued from page 10

task to be his whip." And to the murderer the man says: "You will never again find peace. You will find an uninvited guest everywhere you go, the dead man, whom you hounded to death."

Elie Wiesel's work is based in a belief on the written word, in the power of the word that equals that of the deed.

It is wrong to say that in all his books he implies "God is dead." His books ask the question: "Where is God?" and complain "God does not reply."

They make the proposition that a Jew can be "with God, in God, against God; but not without God."

There is a sentence in his story about Menachem-Mendel of Vitebsk that reads: "To be a Jew means to believe in a new beginning."

Peter Dittmar

(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 October 1986)

An international computer science centre

A joint German-American computer and data technology research institute is to be set up at the University of California in Berkeley, near San Francisco.

The centre, to be called the International Computer Science Institute (ICSI) is intended to meet the Japanese challenge in this field. It is intended that German computer researchers will be able to build on the results they have already achieved.

The project is being jointly run by the Gesellschaft für Mathematik und Datenverarbeitung (GMD) in Bonn and the University of California.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has made available 1.3 million marks for the one-year start- and-planning phase during which time the first five-year research programme will be set up.

The centre's budget will be eight million marks a year, which will have to be paid by the Germans. The Bonn Research Ministry is prepared to pay half if German industry will put up the other half.

There is one major problem West Germany faces with this opportunity: a shortage of qualified people capable of carrying out fundamental research. In America there are about 26,000 scientists and engineers working in state research institutes compared with between 1,400 and 1,700 in West Germany.

According to a finding by a specialist group led by solid-state physics authority Hans Queisser, 2,600 are needed. There is also a lack of other research wherewithal.

This is where the new institute at the university should help: German researchers will be able to use American resources to test their ideas, pickup know-how from American colleagues, use groundwork, instruments and products developed in the USA and eventually what they learn will be passed on to younger scientists in the Federal Republic.

The university hopes the arrangement will enable it to escape the restrictions of internal German authorities who often, on secrecy grounds, prevent scientists professionally associating with those from other countries.

Efforts are to be made to push the idea in Germany in order to get money from industry. But the German science foundation organisation should feel itself under some obligation: the Americans are putting 100,000 dollars into the project. In addition, the University of California is making the space available and later will build the institute its own building.

The basic financing for the first year — until the end of September next year — has been arranged.

Next month, the board of trustees will meet to decide what noted American scientist with an international reputation could be considered for the post of director.

The board has a planned complement of 15 outstanding scientists and people from public life. There are at the moment the five foundation members: on the German side, Professor Norbert Szyperski, a member of the supervisory board of GMD (and who has played a pre-eminent role in the direction of the organisation); and on the American side, the dean of the faculty of computer science, a representative of the university president and two noted computer researchers.

The director of the institute is expected to be elected later in November. By the middle of next year, the five-year programme should have been presented and further finance from industry should, by that stage, have been arranged. By this time next year, the real work should have begun.

There has been official blessing from President Reagan's scientific adviser, but all those now involved with the project agree that they will not accept financing from the SDI (Star Wars) project. The principle is that work at the centre should not be classified but be published.

The institute wants next to get the services permanently of 15 American scientists and, on temporary bases, 15 scientists from German universities, research institutes and industrial institutes.

A still-to-be-set-up committee in the Federal Republic is to examine applications and make recommendations about which Germans should be hired.

The international flavour of the new institute is later to be extended beyond Germany and America, with each new partner financing its own participation costs.

The principle function of the institute, according to GMD business manager Friedrich Winkelhagel, will be development of parallel processing of data in computers; high-performance chips with extreme capacity; new calculator design; artificial intelligence; multi-media data banks; and software systems — in fact in all areas where there is still a lot of basic research to do.

If the institute proves to be a success, one day a school of science dealing with data along the lines of schools which once dealt with physics in, for example, Göttingen or Copenhagen, might be the result: here the best brains in the field were brought together and every student with talent who wanted to get anywhere in physics had to have studied or worked in one or the other.

Hein Gross

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Düsseldorf, 17 October 1986)

■ FRONTIERS

Self-help group where parents learn to cope with the death of a child

Orphaned Parents is the name of a self-help group in Hamburg for parents who have experienced the death of a child.

The group was set up at the city's Protestant Church Academy in 1984 by Mechthild Voss-Eiser, a theologian and psychologist.

More than 9,000 children under 15 die every year. Many die in infancy. Other deaths are through illness or accident, suicide and as a result of crime.

A 46-year-old mother whose 17-year-old daughter died from cancer in 1984 says: "Her death is always like a shadow beside me no matter what I do."

Her life has changed. The shadow will be there as long as she lives. Two years later, she can talk about it. But friends and neighbours won't.

They and the family have all resumed normal everyday lives. The self-help group, a kind of Mourners Anonymous, is the only place where she can still get understanding.

They have all lost a child and know from personal experience how long, hard and painful the process of mourning is.

When Dr Voss-Eiser launched the group in November 1984 there were only a couple of comparable groups in Germany.

"I had no idea how badly needed we were and what hardship we were to encounter," she says. There are now about 16 groups, and more in the making, many based on the Hamburg model.

"People fail to appreciate how serious the problem is," Dr Voss-Eiser says. Parents, brothers and sisters urgently need help; death in the family usually means years of hardship and suffering.

Families on the brink of break-up are plunged into a serious crisis people around them fail to appreciate.

Parents are particularly hard-hit by the death of a child because they have been unable to bring it up to adulthood and feel they have somehow failed in their task of parenthood.

A child's death is felt to be somehow unnatural in that its parents survive it.

A 64-year-old father whose 11-year-old daughter died of meningitis in 1968 recalls:

"I was inwardly prepared to donate an organ of my own and to sacrifice my own life if only Anna's could have been saved as a result." ...

After her death Anna's mother withdrew entirely, having felt her husband had left her to her own devices. She went through the process of mourning on her own.

The couple were steadily alienated. About 70 per cent of families in which a child dies break up. The child's death is not the reason for separation, Dr Voss-Eiser says.

It merely heightens existing conflicts. Besides, parents see for themselves that mourning is strictly personal. We all go about it in our own way.

It may well extend to the sexual field, with husband or wife suddenly feeling for months on end unable to stand the idea of the other's embraces.

Women are usually readier to talk about their problems. Many break up because their husbands, unable to do so, are incapable of shedding tears.



They have to learn that not everything in life depends on their husbands understanding them.

There are, of course, couples who got on well beforehand and whose relationship is reinforced by the stroke of fate.

A 38-year-old woman whose son Klaus, 15, committed suicide (his second, successful attempt) in March 1985 says:

"It brought us closer together." Tears flow as she adds, sobbing: "We still can't get over it."

She blames herself. Parents of suicides suffer from having had no opportunity of taking leave of their children.

Klaus's mother still can't get over the fact that he left home the same as ever on the morning he died, never to return. Parents whose children were killed in an accident feel much the same.

Dr Voss-Eiser says parents feel it matters crucially whether they had the opportunity of time in which to come to terms with the idea of their children's death.

Can parents get over the loss more easily if they have other children? "Had it not been for our daughter," Klaus's mother says, "we might well have committed suicide too. But (daughter) Bärbel isn't Klaus."

Other parents feel much the same. They are deeply hurt when outsiders say: "But you still have the other children, don't you?" The others may be a consolation but they aren't a substitute.

They may prompt their parents to set aside thoughts of suicide but they can also impose a very heavy burden by forcing their parents to soldier on despite the agony.

Nearly all parents feel they were somehow to blame. Klaus's mother says that only now, 18 months after his suicide, does she occasionally feel good for several days at a time.

"On holiday I usually felt fine," she says, "but that again almost gave me an guilty conscience."

A 31-year-old woman who lost her favourite son, Thomas, last June says she has at times wondered, when having trouble with her elder son, why he didn't die instead.

In the group, bereaved parents realise that others feel the same and that their feelings are in no way unusual.

"It's all mourning to me," Thomas's mother says, "sorrow, anger, aggression, pleasure, gratitude. I have never felt so many emotions in such a short time."

She feels grateful that Thomas, 7, died in his sleep at home in bed after a day at the seaside.

He had a congenital heart defect and had undergone several operations. They seemed to have been a success and he died suddenly and unexpectedly.

"He died when he let himself go and I let him do it," his mother says. He knew he was going to die, she now feels sure. He often asked her, in the months that led up to his death, what she would do if he died.

Like others, she suffers from friends and relatives failing to understand how she feels. She is particularly upset that everyone takes great care not mention Thomas by name.

When they look at slides and snapshots of the family and Thomas is suddenly seen, everyone, she says, is as quiet as the grave.

Yet she would prefer people to talk about him. Other people remember him in ways different to the way she does, she feels, and she would dearly like to know how.

Dr Voss-Eiser says parents who are forced to say nothing about a dead child are forced to let the dead child die a second time.

Passing through the Vale of Tears is hard work. Many parents are embittered. Friendships break up.

Parents are on edge. Everyday trivialities are no longer enough to talk about. They slowly learn to live with their child's death. Some take one year, others ten.

They then adopt fresh priorities, tending to live for the present. They feel grateful for the brief time they were able to share with their child and for what is left of their own lives.

They emerge from the crisis more mature. Their personalities have changed. They lead more intensive lives.

Ursula Mommsen-Henneberger/dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 18 October 1986)

Care for the incapacitated is inadequate, meeting told

Social security for people in need of care, such as the bedridden who need full-time nursing, compares badly with other European countries, delegates to a conference in Konstanz heard.

The conference was held by the German Welfare Law Association and the Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Welfare Law.

It showed other, much poorer countries to have done far more for incapacitation in old age than Germany.

In the Federal Republic few of the 260,000 people in care in old people's homes and the 2.5 million people looked after at home by their families can hope to qualify for welfare benefits that are not income-related.

The "lucky" few are victims of industrial injury or an accident or a criminal assault. They can claim from their employer or whoever was to blame.

Others in need of care ranging from a home help to a permanent nurse can seldom afford to foot the bill from their monthly earnings; only 30 per cent are still able to pay their way.

The remainder must exhaust their savings, then apply for social security benefits the local authority may be entitled to recover from their children or other relatives.

In Austria people in need of care who can be looked after at home are on average paid a supplementary benefit of DM320 per month in addition to their old-age pension.

Only people in permanent local authority care are likely to be means-tested. Their families may be required to help foot the bill; it depends on the regulations locally in force.

In Switzerland a graduated supplementary invalidity benefit of up to 576 francs a month is paid.

People in local authority care are even paid pocket money. Their families need have no fear of being asked to pay.

People in care are merely required to contribute toward their upkeep from their savings, if any. Someone with assets totalling 100,000 francs would have to pay 7,000 francs a year, for instance.

In Italy the cost is shared, with health insurance schemes paying for health care and people in local authority care being required to pay board and lodging.

In the GDR all insured persons aged over 18 are entitled to medical care and benefit payments if they are cared for at home by relatives. People in local authority care have to pay a third of the legal minimum pension toward the cost of their upkeep, regardless of their income.

As 85 per cent of the population have this insurance cover, the number of people paid welfare benefits has fallen from 95,087 in 1965 to 12,493 in 1984.

The Netherlands has the most comprehensive compulsory insurance package from the cradle to the grave. But costs have rocketed and premiums have increased from 1.2 to 4.2 per cent of gross wages and salaries.

As a result, the Dutch scheme is often cited as a deterrent. But other figures quoted in Konstanz were no less deterring.

In the Netherlands health insurance premiums, including the special policy, are 13.8 per cent, as against an average 12.2 per cent (employee's and employer's contributions combined) in the Federal Republic.

But taxpayers in the Federal Republic also foot the bill for supplementary benefits and other welfare payments.

Besides, Holland has much better welfare provisions and manpower for the aged, and Dutch life expectancy is two years longer than in the Federal Republic.

In Holland only about half those in local authority care are bedridden; in Germany those that aren't are the exception.

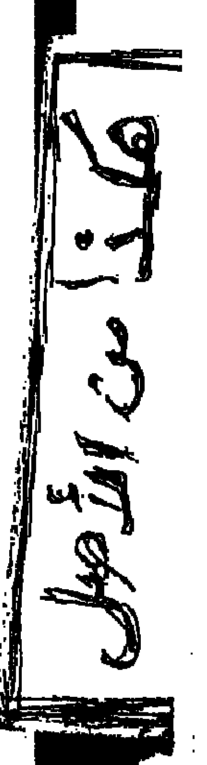
Several Bills have been drawn up for submission to the Bonn Bundestag to improve provisions in the Federal Republic. Next January, when the present Bundestag is dissolved, they will all be scrapped.

There will be strict limits to what the new Bundestag will be able to do after the general election, as Frau Schäfer, Baden-Württemberg Welfare Minister, noted in her message of greeting to the Konstanz conference.

She saw no prospect of overall solutions, she said, and no leeway for comprehensive safeguards.

Stefan Geiger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 October 1986)



■ CRIME

Alternative scheme for young offenders — shaking hands instead of fists

Reutlingen has set up a project, named "Handschlag" or The Handshake Project, that deals with young offenders in an imaginative way.

Instead of throwing the law-book at them when they are caught young wrongdoers are introduced to their victims and urged to make recompense.

With beating heart Thomas knocked at the door of the project's tea-room in the centre of Reutlingen. He had stolen a moped and then dumped it in a bashed-up condition.

The girl owner had reported the theft to the police and filed a charge against an unknown thief.

Thomas was quickly caught and had to face proceedings before a juvenile court. But the court passed his file over to the Handschlag project, a private association of the Reutlingen "Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe" (Help for Self-help) organisation which, with professional assistance, seeks to find new ways of dealing with juvenile crime.

Arrangements were made for Thomas to meet the girl whose moped he had stolen to discuss with her how he could make reparation for the damage he had done to her bike.

Sociologist Anne Kuhn and social worker Gerd Delattre were in on the meeting between the two.

It was agreed that Thomas would repair the moped in his own time so that it was in perfect condition; it was in a fairly miserable state before the theft.

Thomas worked on the moped for hours. When he handed back it back to the girl owner completely repaired Handschlag workers wrote a report which was forwarded to the juvenile court. The judge agreed to close the case against Thomas.

This is one example of many that could be cited. Handbag snatchers, thieves and thugs are confronted with the people they have harmed. In the Handschlag tea-room they must negotiate with their victims how they can make reparation for what they have done.

The public prosecutor or juvenile court only drop charges when offender, victim and a Handschlug worker are satisfied that reparation has been made.

There was considerable distrust of the project in Reutlingen at the outset. Police officials complained that "we catch the offenders and you let them go again."

Nevertheless after two years of the project public prosecutors, police and court officials are all convinced of the worth of the Handschlag project, that is supported by the Youth and Family Affairs Ministry.

The principle behind the project is both simple and reasonable. If a juvenile offender confesses to a crime and is prepared to make compensation for the damage done then the juvenile court drops legal proceedings.

Instead of stewing in juvenile remand prison or cleaning Red Cross vehicles the young offender works to compensate for the damage he or she has done.

It is not always as simple as that. For some young offenders it would be more convenient to go ahead with legal proceedings.

There was the case of 16-year-old Hans, for instance. He was caught stealing a wallet from an old-aged pensioner's overcoat. During police questioning he confessed that he had also stolen a wallet containing DM250 from the locker room at work.

A report had been made to the police so

SONNTAGSBLATT

the woman victim of this theft could be easily traced.

Juvenile court officials called in Handschlag workers. They got together with Hans, the pensioner and the woman whose wallet had been stolen from the locker room.

Hans had a rough time at the meeting in the tea-room. The pensioner told Hans that for a long time he would have had to do without his small pleasures such as tobacco and a pint if the thief had not been caught.

The woman whose money had been stolen said: "He has to realise that he should not do things like that. It's disgraceful to steal things from the locker room."

What could be done about compensation in this case? Nothing of the pensioner's was damaged. He managed a small market garden. Shortly he would be busy harvesting his crops and that was hard work for him. Hans helped him the whole time.

The woman wanted her DM250 back. Because Hans had no money the sum was found from a fund for crime victims that the project has.

Hans had to repay the sum by working on a building site where a youth club was being built at the rate of seven marks an hour until he had paid off the amount.

Both parties agreed to these proposals. The court dropped charges.

This process is more likely to give satisfaction to all parties concerned than a court hearing could do. The victim is only a person standing on the side-lines during a court case.

If a crime victim wants compensation for any harm done he or she often has to start a civil action. That is not worth the trouble when it concerns a juvenile offender who has no money anyway.

The crime victim merely suffers frustration while the offender is handed down a punishment that is often meaningless.

As a result of any number of surveys crime experts believe that only a limited number of juvenile crimes lead to the offender turning into a hardened criminal in later life. Investigations show that 95 per cent do not again commit a crime.

There is a lot to be said for sparing the offender from the unavoidable stigma of a court appearance while at the same time letting the offender understand clearly that he or she has acted badly.

The basic idea behind the Reutlingen project is "meaningful atonement" acceptable to offender and victim alike.

A young man who wrecked a Reutlingen pub one evening has repaid the landlord by working off the debt for the damage done by helping in the kitchen. He can still hold his head high as the matter has now been closed.

The landlord whose pub was demolished is no longer angry. In this case there was a particularly happy ending for the unemployed young man has been offered a permanent job in the pub.

Anne Kuhn and Gerd Delattre regard developments such as this as the incalculable advantages that can come out of the Handschlag project.

"Crime victims usually come to the meeting with an offender full of anxiety and rage," they said. But during the chat the anger evaporates.

There are any number of instances in which long-lasting personal contacts have been made in the process of making reparations for damage done.

Two rival gangs of youths went at each other because a young man informed on them.

When they saw through it all they got together and beat up the young man. In legal terms that is "grievous bodily harm."

Although there was blame on both sides the gang members were the ones who had to stand in the dock in the juvenile court.

Then they all got together in the Handschlag project tea-room. The result was that the offenders and their victim did up a play ground that they and others had turned into a rubbish dump.

Another instance involved a group of boy scouts. They were approached while camping by a village gang and threatened with pistols. Instead of going to court, it was suggested that the gang clean up a village stream.

This example, however, shows the limits to which the Handschlag project can go. Handschlag workers can only help if a personal sacrifice can be agreed upon. They can do nothing about shop-lifting or the destruction of public property.

A juristic person, that is a person or body answerable to the courts, and a juvenile delinquent cannot negotiate about compensation, according to the project's association and legal officials.

That is a pity, but it is, of course, not reasonable that a young offender should be given a different punishment for shoplifting from a supermarket than for theft from the little grocery shop at the street corner.

Gerd Delattre and Anne Kuhn are also unable to do anything in cases of rape, manslaughter, grievous bodily harm and drug trafficking.

Difficulties arise concerning compensation if the civil action claim is high (or ought to be high, according to the subjective view of the victim). This is particularly the case if the victim claims damages.

The impression should not remain here that someone is being taken for a ride as regards damages. On the contrary the offender must be certain that when reparations have been agreed the matter is then closed.

Despite the tensions that can develop between Handschlag and the judiciary, the number of times that the public prosecutor's office and the court have not accepted the mediation between offender and victim can be counted on one hand.

It is also surprising how often the victim of petty crime is prepared to come to an arrangement with a youth or group of youths. Negotiations have only twice been rejected out of 50 cases.

Professor Dieter Rössner, an expert in criminal law at the institute for social training at Lüneburg University, is studying the Reutlingen project's developments. He is particularly interested in public reaction to this new way of dealing with young offenders.

Rössner has written that reconciling the offender to his victim and ideas of the criminal law acting as meditator between the criminal and his victim would bring into question centuries-old principles of criminal law punishment, particularly the retaliation principle in which the wickedness of a deed can only be countered by the pains of punishment.

In Handschlag project dealings it is important that the victim be able to define the harm done to him or her. This aspect was of particular importance in the tea-room talks.

Justified anger disappears if a women pensioner can vent the feelings she felt when she lay on the pavement with aching bones after her handbag had been snatched, or if the scouts can describe the anxiety they felt when the thugs burst into their camp.

Handschlag makes offenders consider their deeds far beyond the question of material reparation.

This idea of making offenders fully aware of the consequences of what they have done is quite the opposite to the line the Hamburg justice authorities are thinking of taking and which has unleashed a storm of indignation.

A general provision has been drawn up that drops many crimes committed by young people (up to 18) and adolescents (up to 21) from criminal prosecution if the case involves summary proceedings or a first offence and where there are no criminal tendencies.

Educationalists and crime experts have come out strongly in favour of this change, and there are no reasons at law why this change should not be introduced.

There is a lot to be said for relieving the courts of summary proceedings involving youths who, for the most part, are not likely to turn to crime when they are older. It spares them involvement with public prosecutors and courts.

However, there is a lot more to be said for the "educational example" being deployed in Reutlingen. There is also a similar project in Brunswick and other cities have shown interest.

There has been endless argument as to whether a bicycle theft or putting a hand into the petty cash should inevitably bring down the law on the culprit's head. It cannot be denied that the idea of abandoning proceedings just at the drop of a hat would create legal uncertainty.

Victims who have only sustained bruises or minor loss of property would not be happy, but would feel themselves taken for a ride.

That is an invitation to take the law into one's own hands.

Renate Faerber-Husemann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 28 September 1986)

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Soyinka's holistic philosophy conceals his daring to contradict. Soyinka cannot be pinned down to any genre, any ideology, any confession of faith.

His works include more than 15 plays and radio plays, two novels, two autobiographical works and volumes of poetry.

He has published the poetry of other African poets, translated from Yoruba into English and has published a volume of essays on African literature.

His works reflect his credo: a refusal to become established, to be narrow-minded, to be artistically, socially or politically limited.

As a fighter for things African he is never prepared to fire off trite words.

His African colleagues are far less inclined to singing his praises than European critics.

One said of him: "Soyinka demonstrates sovereignty. His creativity includes elements created and elements destroyed, satire and mockery with game and ritual, rage with pleasure, sadism with benediction."

Inge Uffelmann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 October 1986)